

THE ESSAYS
OR
COUNSELS CIVIL AND MORAL
OF
FRANCIS BACON

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FRANCIS BACON.

THE ESSAYS
OR
COUNSELS CIVIL AND MORAL
OF

FRANCIS BACON
LORD VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN THE

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G.

D. E. C.

PREFACE

THE present edition of Bacon's *Essays* has been prepared in the hope that the young students in whose hands it is placed may quickly come to feel the charm of these frank commentaries upon life and its problems, and to recognize, with Emerson that, despite his limitations, Bacon "marks the influx of idealism into England. Where that goes is poetry, health and progress."

The editor desires to express his sense of indebtedness, for many valuable suggestions, to the standard editions of the *Essays*, particularly those of Dr. Wright, Dr. Abbott, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Selby, and Mr. Anderson, and also to the faithful labours of Bacon's chief biographers, named in the Bibliography.

G. H. C.

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INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE OF BACON

"It cannot be denied," wrote Bacon in 1612, "but outward accidents conduce much to fortune ; favour, opportunity, death of others. occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands." These are wise words, and lead us, before tracing the movement of "his own hands," to consider for a moment the age, the parentage, and the kinships of the future Lord Chancellor of England as affecting his "favour" and his "opportunity."

The gentle, dreamy Spenser sings in his epic of faery:—

"After long stormes and tempests overblowne
The sun at length his joyous face doth cleare :
So whenas fortune all her spight hath showne,
Some blissfull houres at last must needes appeare."

So came the days of Queen Elizabeth, with their astonishing progress in the intellectual, artistic, and economic life; their strong quickening of the seeds of freedom; their constant stimulus to the alert and ambitious; their beckon to higher thought and action;

days, at their best, of childlike curiosity and ripe earnestness; of theory and affairs balancing each other; of quick, frank plays upon the stage of life. Those were sunlit days, before the student had become a jaded bookman, the Puritan a reforming oppressor, the romanticist a too loyal suitor of melancholy. And positive Elizabeth, at *her* best, was their symbol and exemplar, the idol and concern of every Englishman.

Her first Lord Keeper of the Seals, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was a man of legal learning, fine personal character, and corresponding reputation, and was looked upon by his royal mistress with respect and regard. His second wife, Anne, was a daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to King Edward VI., and was possessed of unusual culture, being carefully trained each night by her father until she had acquired a sound scholarship in theology, literature, and the languages. This strict programme, however, had detracted little from her personal or social charms. She became, though increasingly masterful, a faithful wife and devoted mother. There were born to her two sons, Anthony and Francis, the latter January 22, 1560 (our 1561), at York House, London. Both were capable boys, but the younger, despite his always delicate health, soon proved himself peculiarly gifted. The philosopher in little broke his drums "to look for the sound," and eagerly explored a brick conduit during playtime that he might discover the cause of a remarkably full echo; and the embryo

courtier pleased Elizabeth with happy turns of phrase and graceful flattery. It is important to recognize that in both these respects Bacon was of his time as of his family. Of that family his mother's sister had married William Cecil, afterward Lord Burleigh (or Burghley), the powerful Lord Treasurer of England. His son, Sir Robert Cecil, First Secretary of State, was Bacon's first cousin. By virtue of his relationship to these high personages, and the connections and opportunities afforded by that relationship, it is reasonable to infer, in Montagu's striking phrase, that Bacon was "cradled in politics."

At the age of thirteen Francis entered Trinity College, Cambridge, with his brother Anthony. He had gone up thither with confident aspirations and yet comes to confess somewhat protestingly — and, perhaps, with a certain juvenility — that after the novelty wore away he had more real occasion for disliking the atmosphere and methods of the university than he had supposed possible. Even at this early age he found himself quickly able to distinguish between the nobility of learning and its captiousness. He met in Cambridge, he tells us, with much wit, but little power. "In the universities, all things are found opposite to the advancement of the sciences; for the readings and exercises are here so managed that it cannot easily come into any one's mind to think of things out of the common road. . . . For the studies of men in such places are confined, and pinned down to the writings of certain

authors; from which, if any man happens to differ, he is presently represented as a disturber and innovator." Three years of residence were all, apparently, that he could endure. In any case, he withdrew without seeking a degree, and was attached by his father to the service of Sir Amyas Paulet, the English ambassador to France. So well did he conduct himself while in Paris that Sir Amyas entrusted him with a private mission to Elizabeth, which he executed with wisdom and fidelity. Upon the appointment of a new minister Bacon travelled in the French provinces, but was called home suddenly, in 1579, by the announcement of his father's death. February 20.

Bacon was now face to face with the problem of his personal support and the welfare of his father's survivors. Sir Nicholas had not been rich, and his son felt himself unwillingly constrained to enter the profession of law. Unwillingly, for Bacon had been hoping that the mighty Cecils would further his fortunes and induce the Queen to bestow upon him a political post with a competence. The Cecils, wisely enough from their point of view, declined to make life so easy for him, and he reluctantly forewent his cherished idea of contemplative leisure and devoted himself to the law. In 1580 he became a student of Gray's Inn, of the "Ancients" of which he was already a member; a few years later he was called to the bench; in 1586 he became an inner barrister; and at thirty was made Elizabeth's Queen's Counsel Learned Extraordinary, without salary. During

this period Burleigh's help had been slight enough, and was never afterward heartily accorded to the too solicitous nephew.

Opposed to Burleigh and the Cecils was the great power of Leicester, and, after his death, that of his son-in-law, Robert Devereux, Lord Essex. The characters of all men are sufficiently complex and self-contradictory to make precise analysis impossible, even for the psychologist, and Essex, like Bacon himself, sometimes puzzles the biographer. He was a gentleman, a scholar, a soldier, a diplomat, a gallant. Before all, he was Essex, — the lovable, impulsive autocrat of his own fortunes, and the generous comrade of Elizabeth's best imaginings. His was a spirit not made for crooking the pregnant hinges of the knee. He better liked to try the mettle of horse and foe, to challenge when her mood allowed the pride and will of Elizabeth herself, to turn her buffets into rewards, to cry scorn upon his enemies, and ardently to serve his friends. And he had many of both orders, himself, at least from the prudential viewpoint, too often numbered among the former. Of his friends Mr. Francis Bacon was very near him, the struggling young lawyer and philosopher who with his brother Anthony had early chosen to follow Essex's fortunes. Bacon must have felt the charm of that fine personality, must indeed have loved Essex as he could never have loved the Cecils, though to them he still continued to apply for advancement. Not quite unsuccessfully, for though Sir Robert seems to have considered him

"a speculative man indulging himself in philosophical reveries, and calculated more to perplex than to promote public business," yet the reversion of the Registrarship of the Star Chamber was now bestowed upon him, a position assuring a good income, but to which, unfortunately, Bacon did not actually attain until twenty years afterward.

His condition, therefore, remained much in need of improvement, and it must be said that his independent activity as the young member of Parliament for Middlesex in 1592 did not tend to modify Elizabeth's opinion of his "unsuitableness" as a public servant. There was in Bacon, indeed, a strain of inquiry, of large tolerance for truth, of catholic reasonableness, that made it hard for him to support at any time the character of a strictly limited servant and partisan in social or political affairs. For more than one reason, then, we cannot feel much surprise at his failure to secure the Attorney-General's place, when it became vacant in 1593, notwithstanding his persistent candidacy and Essex's cordial, even eager, support. In April, 1594, his rival, Sir Edward Coke, was given the place, and the disappointed suitor, after some petulance, pressed for the Solicitorship. This also he failed to obtain, after eighteen months of struggle. Elizabeth seemed to resent Essex's bold pleading for his friend, and Coke and the Lord Keeper Puckering strongly opposed Bacon's claims. In a letter on the result, written to Fulke Greville, Bacon manifests a feeling of sharp regret, almost of shame: "And

what though the Master of the Rolls, and my Lord of Essex, and yourself, and others, think my case without doubt, yet in the meantime I have a hard condition, to stand so that whatsoever service I do to Her Majesty, it shall be thought to be but *servitium riscutum*, lime-twigs and fetches to place myself; and so I shall have envy, not thanks. This is a course to quench all good spirits, and to corrupt every man's nature. . . . For to be, as I told you, like a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again, and so *in infinitum*, I am weary of it, as also of wearying my good friends."

But one good friend was not to be wearied. Essex, feeling keenly the blight that had come upon Bacon's prospects, and his own difficult position as unsuccessful mediator, undertook to relieve the situation in some measure by the gift of a handsome estate at Twickenham, worth about £1,800, which was gratefully accepted by his beneficiary. Essex was also behind Bacon's addresses to Lady Hatton, the rich widow of Sir William Hatton and daughter of Sir Thomas Cecil; but his warm espousal by letter of his friend's cause appears to have had as little influence with the perverse widow as the presence and dignity of Bacon himself, who was defeated in the lists of love, as in those of politics, by none other than Coke. The Attorney-General soon afterward married Lady Hatton.

Bacon now betook himself to his pen, and sought to

execute work planned for earlier fruition. In 1596 he completed a treatise upon the common law, which remained unpublished during his lifetime; and in the following year he put out the first edition of the *Essays*, then numbering ten, with "Religious Meditations" and "Of the Colours of Good and Evil." During these two years appeared also the last three Books of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's *Romco and Juliet* and *The Merchant of Venice*. Two other slowly expanding editions of the *Essays* were published before Bacon's death, until in 1625 the original ten had become fifty-eight. Other literary tasks beguiled this early disappointment, and the man of letters was kept busy also as lawyer and parliamentarian.

Essex's growing popularity, after his return from the capture of Cadiz in 1596, sometimes gratified and sometimes angered the Queen, for whom her favourite continued to show a regard too self-reliant for his own ultimate good. It is interesting to notice Bacon's friendly but assiduous remonstrances with Essex in this respect, remonstrances received always good-temperedly but slightly and seldom heeded. In one of his *Apophthegms* Bacon tells us that "Aristippus was earnest suitor to Dionysius for somewhat, who would give no ear to his suit. Aristippus fell at his feet, and then Dionysius granted it. One that stood by said afterwards to Aristippus, 'You a philosopher, and to be so base as to throw yourself at the tyrant's feet to get a suit!' Aristippus

answered, 'The fault is not mine, but the fault is in Dionysius, that carries his ears in his feet.'" This little story reflects light, in its way, upon the characters of both Bacon and Essex, the latter of whom "had a settled opinion," says Bacon, "that the Queen could be brought to nothing but by a kind of necessity and authority." Certainly, Essex easily realized his unfortunate desire in 1599, when he chose and was appointed to go as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to crush Tyrone's rebellion in that troublous land. There is something of conflict between Bacon's *Apology*, published early in the reign of James I., and his letters written to Essex at this time. In the former he asserts that "I did not only dissuade, but protest against his going," because "I did as plainly see his overthrow chained, as it were by destiny, to that journey, as it is possible for a man to ground a judgment upon future contingents." In the latter "some good spirit led his pen to presage to his Lordship success." The truth would seem to be that Bacon entertained for his friend both hope and fear, and that after Essex's failure his fear loomed more largely in his memory than his hope.

For failure came, and Essex, lacking the patience and skill of an organizing general in a vexatious campaign, returned suddenly to the Court, at Nonsuch, and though at first received with surprised pleasure by Elizabeth, soon felt her coldness as willing tongues wagged against him and his proceedings, alleging political intrigue as well as miserable con-

duct of an important military enterprise. "He was treated," says Church, "as a cat treats a mouse; he was worried, confined, disgraced, publicly reprimanded, brought just within verge of the charge of treason, but not quite, just enough to discredit and alarm him, but to leave him still a certain amount of play. He was made to see that the Queen's favour was not quite hopeless; but that nothing but the most absolute and unreserved humiliation could recover it. It was plain to any one who knew Essex that this treatment would drive him to madness."

The clock was soon to strike twelve for the harried man. Inquiry and prosecution, despite Elizabeth's old attachment to him, were becoming dangerously like persecution, and the first or Star Chamber session, from which Essex was kept away, served only to kindle the hostility of his enemies and the apprehension of his friends. Against this action Bacon justly protested, and at length prevailed on Elizabeth "that the matter should be heard at York House, before an assembly of councillors, peers, and judges, and some audience of men of quality to be admitted." In this "corrective" trial Bacon was assigned a legally unimportant part, which he accepted with regret and misgiving, and yet with the sense of obligation to the Queen, for whom he entertained a real regard, and in the hope that his own loyalty might not be without value as affecting the welfare of his friend. It is certain that he made frequent intercession for Essex, and sought constantly to redeem him from the

Queen's displeasure. We must not be too quick to condemn the apparent ingratitude of Bacon to Essex in appearing against him. It is less reprehensible to err on the generous side than to censure a whit beyond the just and certain limit. These questions are necessary: Had Bacon two loyalties to observe? Which, in Elizabeth's day, would be accounted the greater? Did Essex deserve castigation? Were Bacon's motives pure, or mixed? If mixed, is he wholly blameworthy? Did he truly desire to save his friend both from his enemies and from himself?

To the last question Essex, for his part, would seem willing to respond in Bacon's favour. After a mild sentence had been pronounced Bacon still sought full clemency from Elizabeth, and unmoved by the slanders with which many were now besmirching his own good name he continued ardently to sue for Essex's immediate liberation from unhappiness and gloom, and would doubtless have succeeded were it not for recurring causes of suspicion carefully instilled into Elizabeth's mind, and therein nurtured. Bacon still followed what he thought was the safest way, the path of indirection, and having composed a correspondence between his brother Anthony and Essex, in a manner to please the Queen, submitted it to her.

These were only half-lights, however, like so many other devices of Elizabeth's court and society. Indeed, as Bacon the essayist tells us, "dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom. For it asketh

a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers." Yet the letters had their value, and so had Bacon's many conversations with the Queen, who in August, 1600, set her former favourite at liberty. He retired shortly to the country, hoping for a complete restoration to power, but the test he made of Elizabeth's intention was not a happy one. A patent he possessed for the monopoly of sweet wines, which had brought him a large income, was now about to expire, and Essex sued rather too directly for its renewal. This was refused and Elizabeth's disfavour was increased, directing itself also toward Bacon, as his representations on behalf of his friend became, in the Queen's view, unduly urgent. Essex, deeply stirred by this petulant denial of his claim, impulsively decided to carry out the idea of a demonstration, already conceived; and reopening, as is alleged, negotiations with Scotland and Ireland, and intriguing with both Puritan and Catholic, he marched with a few armed men upon London, and threw himself recklessly into the hands of his fate. It is difficult to credit his defence "that there was a plot against his life; that some were suborned to stab him in his bed; that he and his friends were treacherously dealt with, and that they were determined on resistance," and equally difficult to believe that he seriously relied on the willingness of Londoners to rise in his behalf. Rather, it would appear, tired of contumely and of an irksome

submission that did not report him and his cause aright, he cast down the gage with haughty passion, with something of that heroic spirit that leads a soldier to seek a soldier's end, to finish his life, as he had lived it, on the high terms of pride and determination. If apparent failure were sure, even in that failure he saw success. Essex, at least, was straitened until his purpose was accomplished.

While the "rebel" lay imprisoned in the Tower, evidence against him rapidly accumulated, and his formal guilt was plainly established. On February 19, 1601, he was brought to trial and admitted his overt act of treason, but scornfully rejected the interpretation placed upon it by his accusers. His attitude was firm and noble, and he showed to better advantage than Bacon, who was ordered to assist in the prosecution.

The course of the relationship between these two men had now reached a dramatic climax. Bacon's presence and participation during the trial do not immediately win our approval, yet there is no room for doubt that he laboured faithfully to the last to save his friend, and did not cease his efforts until Essex had suffered the extreme penalty, February 25, 1601. After the fatal event and by order of Elizabeth, he set forth an official declaration of the treasons of Essex in a form so mild that he was sharply rebuked and thorough revision was made by other hands.

Two years after the execution of the man she had so highly honoured and so deeply humiliated, Eliza-

beth, whose health and spirits had thereafter continually declined, passed out of England's life, and Bacon's, March 24, 1603.

With Elizabeth passed the Tudors and the Tudor relation between bold and able sovereigns and a responsive people. The heritage of the English throne now fell to James Stuart, only son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, who was already ruling Scotland as James VI. Before Elizabeth's death Cecil had smoothed down every possible obstacle to the accession of the heir as James I. of England, and the new reign, to last for twenty-two years, began quietly with the arrival of James in London, May, 1603. The character of this king was ill-suited to grasp and govern the times. The spirit of the Renaissance was already decadent; Puritanism, with its Hebraistic zest for conduct as the prime good, was a rising tide in England; and, if blindly, yet no less surely, the popular heart was turning toward the idea of civil rights as the inevitable warrant and condition of religious liberty. Both the Established Church and the Dissenters, it is true, misdefined "free conscience," yet conservative and bigot became alike the largely unwitting agents of progress in theology and statecraft. James did not see, or, if he saw, did not understand, this movement of the time-spirit. Himself nurtured in a wild land where might spelled right, a firm believer in the Stuart traditions, clever and "read" without being saga-

cious, obstinate without being strong, embittered by early struggles with Calvinist and democrat without ever having attempted to conceive their point of view, he was from the first out of sympathy with the English people, suspicious of Parliament, and irritably fickle toward his immediate supporters. He was always the Scotch inheritor, unadapted and unadaptable, a stranger in a strange land.

Paradoxical as it may appear, Francis Bacon, the already determined renovator of learning and founder of a new philosophy, sought eagerly for the favour of James and his court. He wrote to Lord Southampton, who, condemned with Essex, had been released but lately from the Tower, "I may safely be that to you now, which I was truly before;" to the Earl of Northumberland, "If I may be of any use to your Lordship, by my head, tongue, pen, means, or friends, I humbly pray you to hold me your own;" and to Cecil, "I pray you, as you find time let him know that he is the personage in the State which I love most." Mistaken as his motive may seem to have been, it was an honourable one. His desire to serve James locally was conditioned precisely upon his desire to serve humanity universally. That a human being, limited, finite, matter-bound, can achieve high success in pure scholarship, intellectual leadership, and political office alike, Bacon evidently believed possible, and, in his case, even necessary. Place and power, he felt, must become the commanding platform from which his voice should carry con-

viction to worldly and unworldly, an unrestricted audience. In a note concerning himself attached in Latin Ms. to his treatise on the "Interpretation of Nature," and translated by his admirable if too partial biographer, James Spedding, he declares that he finds himself fitted for nothing so well as for the study of truth; "as having a mind nimble and versatile enough to catch the resemblances of things . . . and at the same time steady enough to fix and distinguish their subtler differences; as being gifted by nature with desire to seek, patience to doubt, fondness to meditate, slowness to assert, readiness to reconsider, carefulness to dispose and set in order; and as being a man that neither affects what is new nor admires what is old, and that hates every kind of imposture." Because, however, of early training; and because of an instinctive patriotism; "and because I hoped that, if I rose to any place of honour in the State, I should have a larger command of industry and ability to help me in my work; for these reasons I both applied myself to acquire the arts of civil life, and commended my service, so far as in modesty and honesty I might, to the favour of such friends as had any influence. In which also I had another motive: for I felt that those things I have spoken of — be they great or small — reach no further than the condition and culture of this mortal life; and I was not without hope . . . that if I came to hold office in the State, I might get something done too for the good of men's souls."

No one can read these words and doubt their sincerity. If Bacon's political life seem to us of to-day a serious waste of effort, it did not at least so appear to Bacon, or even to those few intimate friends who knew something of his deeper life. Rank, fortune, power, property — all these, he thought, might serve variously as props, or even as ballast, to the life of the man-in-himself; and it is not singular, therefore, that, thus thinking, he was able at last, when stripped of these accessories, still to face the future with equanimity of soul. If he felt too strongly that he could spare nothing, that he must convert all things into aids, he nevertheless was able to discriminate between aid and aim. He believed himself wise enough and strong enough to handle for noble ends tools whose knack or trick lesser men than he knew much better. For a time he almost succeeded, but at last "affairs" ruined him. He "fell," and yet in that very catastrophe we can see the seeds of his ultimate recognition as a statesman who strove honestly to understand and elevate the life of his country. He had to contend with personal enmity and vague popular discontent on the one hand, and with a crass absolutism on the other. When he saw himself tactically outflanked and surrounded, he yielded perforce, yet it is incredible that he felt his surrender to be an ineffaceable disgrace, as a mere opportunist must have done.

James summoned his first Parliament March 19, 1604, and Bacon, as a Commoner for the borough of

Ipswich, became an active speaker and committeeman. This Parliament attacked, among other things, monopolies, abuses of the Exchequer, and the burdensomeness of commissaries' courts. So acceptably did Bacon proceed in these matters, acceptably to both House and King, that he shortly became James's salaried Counsel Learned in the Law, and was granted a pension. Keen in debate, fertile in resource, respectfully conciliatory toward James, he was at this time and throughout his public career the one outstanding figure who tried to deal generously with King and people, serving both as his moral outlook and political sagacity suggested, in the spirit of a master-servant, for "he had," says Nichol, "as profound a disbelief as Carlyle had in our own age in the collective wisdom of individual ignorances." James soon learned to respect and value such a combination of skilled talent with integrity of purpose, and gave him divers commissions, among them the preparation of a basis for the proposed union of England and Scotland.

Pending the meeting of the next Parliament, Bacon addressed himself pretty steadily to letters, writing to Henry Saville, Provost of Eton, on "Helps to the Intellectual Powers," and to Chancellor Ellesmere on the importance of making possible the production of an impartial and well-proportioned History of Britain, a task he confessed to be congenial to himself, but of which he was unable to attempt more than the outline. Of much greater value are the

Two Books of the Advancement of Learning, published October, 1605, and dedicated to James, — a noble though tentative work, containing the elaborated results of Bacon's long inquiry into the means and effects of learning. The First Book proposes to discuss "the excellency of learning and knowledge, and the excellency of the merit and true glory in the augmentation and propagation thereof"; and the Second Book "what the particular acts and works are which have been embraced and undertaken for the advancement of learning." The ground being cleared by the discussions of the First Book, Bacon treats of the means of learning, as schools, books, persons; and then boldly yet patiently attempts "to make a general and faithful perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts thereof lie fresh and waste. My purpose is at this time to note only omissions and deficiencies."

In November of the same year Parliament again assembled, and Bacon's ambition for place began again to be stimulated. He applied to Lord Salisbury (Robert Cecil) for the Solicitorship, in March, 1606. As in Elizabeth's reign, however, he was not appointed, but disappointed. Yet his star was waxing. In May he married a well-to-do and comely damsel, Alice Barnham, daughter of an alderman, and, though he appears to have been much more dignified than romantic in this affair, their life together was doubtless not less happy than that of Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway. To Spenser's domestic joy

Bacon did not, probably could not, attain, but upon Coke's experience he decidedly improved. Certainly, the matrimonial estate made him both more solicitous and more successful in the pursuit of office. In this year Coke gave up the Attorneyship to become Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, one Hobart became the not too able Attorney, and Bacon looked for the transfer of Doddridge, the Solicitor, and his own elevation to that place. Owing to hostile influences, however, or the uneasy feeling that a man of Bacon's forceful personality might not fit smoothly into the machinery of the State, his appointment was deferred until June 25, 1607. His income from this office was about £1,000, and, all told, by 1608, with the Registrarship of the Star Chamber, amounted to over £5,000.

In the *Commentarius Solutus*, a lengthy private memorandum composed by Bacon in this latter year, which reveals in the most candid manner his little prudences and foibles as well as the higher aims of his life, he stresses his cherished plan for a reformed philosophy and his ideal of national greatness. Among other matters he deals with the Attorneyship and Hobart's occupancy. He is evidently determined to succeed Hobart as early as may be, and describes him rather surprisingly in the margin as a "solemn goose." In order to push his fortunes, this frank commentator made of himself a particularly active Solicitor, despite the routine duties of the office, and remained also a zealous member of

the Commons. He supported Salisbury's ill-starred "Great Contract" plan of relieving the King's financial embarrassment, by means of which James was virtually to sell small fractions of the prerogative. In addition to these cares he found time slowly to evolve parts of his *Great Instauration*, to write his *Confession of Faith*, and, in 1612, to revise his *Essays*.

In 1610 old Lady Bacon had passed away, and the following year Hobart fell ill, leaving Bacon to remind the King of his claims and expectations. The Attorney recovered, but Salisbury, whom his cousin had always found at best a lukewarm patron, died May 24, 1612, and with him faded the afterglow of Elizabeth's long reign. Bacon wrote frequently to the King suggesting improvements upon Salisbury's policies, with himself as improver, and showed a spirit of somewhat mysterious resentment against his late relative. James responded in a measure, but cautiously, until in 1613 an opportunity occurred to transfer Coke to the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench, promote Hobart to the Common Pleas, and make Bacon, October 27, Attorney-General.

Parliament had not met since midsummer, 1610, and on Bacon's urgent advice was now assembled, April, 1614. Although, as Attorney, Parliament decided that Bacon was not eligible to retain membership, he was made a personal exception and given a seat by courtesy. He soon showed his accustomed activity, defending as he might the royal prerogative against merely sullen or malevolent attacks, and yet at-

tempting to lead his fellow-members into progressive lines of policy and legislation. It was a hard task, for King and Parliament were in reality two masters, mutually suspicious and quick to take offence. Indeed, after Bacon had concluded a careful explanation of James's good intentions, he declared: "Thus have I told you my opinion. I know it had been more safe and politic to have been silent; but it is more honest and loving to speak. When a man speaketh, he may be wounded by others; but as he holds his peace from good things, he wounds himself." The speech was not heard with acceptance, and the King, seeing no hope of obtaining supplies, dissolved this "Addled Parliament" in June. He tried, instead, to impose a tax of place upon the greater noblemen and office-holders, and even upon the lesser fry, arousing much excited opposition. Several persons who dared deery the plan were brought to trial and severely punished, among them Rev. Edmund Peacham, an old clergyman whose case has become celebrated in Bacon lore, owing to the resort to torture. His house having been searched, a foolish sermon was found of extreme bitterness and audacity, and, after a long legal controversy, he was convicted of treason, and died in Taunton jail. The case was considered important in that Peacham was supposed to have accomplices of higher station. As for Bacon's connection with the affair, it was purely official, his name not even appearing on the torture warrant, and his personal

dislike of such means being made manifest in a report to James.

During this time Bacon wrote an admirable and sympathetic letter to George Villiers, who had succeeded Robert Carr, the infamous Earl of Somerset, as the royal favourite. The letter warns Villiers against undue interference with the judiciary: "By no means be you persuaded to interpose yourself . . . in any cause depending, or like to be depending, in any court of justice, nor suffer any other great man to do it where you can hinder it, and by all means dissuade the King himself from it, upon the importunity of any for themselves or their friends; if it should prevail, it perverts justice; but if the judge be so just, and of such courage, as he ought to be, as not to be inclined thereby, yet it always leaves a taint of suspicion behind it; judges must be as chaste as Caesar's wife, neither to be, nor to be suspected to be unjust; and, sir, the honour of the judges in their judicature is the King's honour, whose person they represent." So keenly did Bacon feel the sanctity of the law that he continued to seek its improvement through codification; but in vain, owing to the opposition of Coke and the indifference of the King.

George Villiers, the recipient of the letter referred to, who afterward became Duke of Buckingham, was a brilliant, astute, handsome, agreeable, but largely selfish and conscienceless man. In 1613 he entered the King's household and rose rapidly to the Duke-

dom, bestowed on him two years later. Bacon had shown little interest in Somerset, over expectation from him, but between himself and Villiers there already existed an easy friendship that wore well, as the years passed and each proved of a marked assistance to the other. Bacon, for his part, gave Villiers plenty of sound advice that had some fruition, and Villiers heartily pushed his friend's fortunes at court. Coke's evil influence was meantime undergoing steady reduction, until this great but pompous Justice was at length removed from office, November, 1616, owing technically to a dispute between his court and Chancery.

To this latter haven Bacon was now proceeding under full sail. Ellesmere's tenure would shortly cease, and Bacon did not hesitate to inform the King of the inadequacy of Coke, Hobart, and others, to fill the place, and incidentally of his own strong hope. He was heard favourably, and, as an earnest of the royal good-will, was advanced to the Privy Council. In a letter to Villiers acknowledging the promise of the Chancellorship, he uses the pathetically predictive words: "I am yours surer to you than my own life. For, as they speak of the Turquoise stone in a ring, I will break into twenty pieces before you bear the least fall." On March 3, 1617, he became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and assumed his new rank on May 7 with magnificence. In addressing the bar on that occasion, he spoke with peculiar power and wisdom concerning the judicial

spirit and method, and dealt plainly with prevailing habits of corruption. January, 1618, saw him advanced to the full dignity of Lord Chancellor. Six months later he was made a peer, and thereafter, first, Baron Verulam, and then Viscount St. Albans.

Bacon had now reached the height of his social desire and political fortune, through "favour, opportunity, death of others," and also through "occasion fitting virtue," for he was among the best-equipped and best-intentioned chancellors in England's annals. Financially, he suffered loss through the relinquishing of his minor lucrative offices, and the difference in his income was not made up by the receipts from fees and gifts. Of the latter there were always many, not only in Bacon's experience, but in that of the high world in general, from monarch to statesmen and officers, including the judiciary. The practice was general because it was traditional, and only now was a rational antagonism to it slowly asserting itself, most notably in France. Of Bacon's hard work and just judgments as Chancellor there is the most ample evidence: of his frequent receipt of money and presents from litigants, though very rarely during trial, and of his complaisant though never criminal susceptibility to Buckingham's influence, there is also evidence, to spare.

Each day, however, in the Court of Chancery, a day's work was done, and envy of the Chancellor had scant foothold save for the "mistake" which Bacon made in opposing the marriage of Coke's daughter

to Sir John Villiers, a younger brother of Buckingham. Bacon thought he saw in this proposal a scheme to restore Coke to the King's favour and to compromise Buckingham's political influence. Lady Hatton, the girl's mother, who had suffered violence in protecting her daughter from Coke's minions, appealed, not in vain, to Bacon, who removed the young woman to impartial custody, wrote to Buckingham for support, and induced the Council to try Coke for riotous conduct. Unfortunately, the Chancellor had reckoned without his host, or, rather, his sovereign, lately absent in Scotland, who zealously endorsed the match and reprimanded his too officious servant. Buckingham, too, turned sharply upon Bacon, whose conduct had been, even if displeasing, honest and faithful, and who was now constrained to seek a reconciliation. The marriage took place, Coke came back to his seat at the council table, and Buckingham generously forgave his friend. This meant even less freedom for Bacon thereafter, who showed himself indeed in the trials of Raleigh, the Lord Treasurer Suffolk, and former Attorney Yelverton, though an equitable lawyer yet conscious of the Crown label and constraint. "I know," he said, "these things do not pertain to me; for my part is to acquit the King's office towards God, in the maintenance of the prerogative, and to oblige the hearts of the people to him by the administration of justice." In his capacity as Keeper of the Seal, however, though he was made constantly to

feel the King's need of money, he exercised marked conservatism in passing grants and franchises.

This incident of the marriage was the crisis or turning-point of Bacon's career. Powerful, wealthy, and exalted; master of a fine estate at Gorhambury and of his old birthplace, York House; already recognized by sundry thoughtful judges as greatest of the philosophers of England, — and their opinion was more than justified by the appearance of the *Norum Organum* a few months later. — he passed his sixtieth birthday, January 22, 1620, in peaceful splendour. Hardly more than a year later he had fallen into an apparently all-engulfing disgrace.

To understand this astonishing reversal of his life's direction, we must bear steadily in mind three considerations: first, the certain tendency of civilized peoples to correct seen evils, which tendency is itself a test of civilization; second, Bacon's peculiarly close relations with James and Buckingham; third, Bacon's superior mentality, which enabled him to see — with heart-sinking — the fatal though superficial flaws in any possible defence, and to anticipate the catastrophe into which both official England and popular England, as agents of his inexorable fate, were inevitably to pursue him.

The facts, of which but a brief recital will be necessary, are as follows. Upon the long-deferred summoning of Parliament in 1621, a Parliament which opened quietly but inherited the animus of its predecessors in regard to public abuses and the attitude

of the Crown toward public rights, a well-directed attack upon the rapacity of certain of Buckingham's creatures resulted in the imprisonment of Sir Francis Michell and the flight of Sir Giles Mompesson. These men had blackmailed silk merchants, goldsmiths, and others, forcing them to pay extortionate fees for patents, or to give up business, or even suffer arrest. The monopoly system had become so arrogant and so economically and ethically destructive that Parliament, made eager by its brief exploration of the flooded current, began to look higher for the source or sources. It was discovered that Christopher Villiers and, especially, Sir Edward Villiers, Buckingham's brothers, were among these sources, and a quickly echoed outcry arose against corruption in the seats of the mighty. James and Buckingham became first uneasy, and finally alarmed. Buckingham, particularly, fearing his own future, made haste to consult not the essentially just-minded Bacon, but Williams, then Dean of Westminster, a shrewd and able man, who suggested that the Court would do well, whenever possible, to sacrifice the lesser for the greater, and that Sir Edward Villiers, for his part, should flee immediately.

By this time the parliamentary committees were hard at work, and one of them had ventured to "glance at" the Referees — among whom the Lord Chancellor was numbered — who had certified to the abused patents. Coke, inveterate in personal enmity, and Cranfield, Master of the Wards, for whom Bacon

had openly shown his dislike, saw their opportunity, and, uttering much sententious wisdom, insisted that only a full investigation of the deeds and characters of the Referees could satisfy the royal honour. Bacon at once recognized their meaning, and appealed to James: "Those that will strike at your Chancellor, it is much to be feared will strike at your Crown. I wish that as I am the first I may be the last of sacrifices." The King responded as he could, but in March a committee of reform reported two petitions for corruption against the Court of Chancery. Almost immediately, out of what had hitherto seemed a clear sky save for "the passing anger of a shadow," the lightnings began to dart, and Bacon found himself in the hands of his enemies. Count after count was brought against him, trivial as nearly all of them were, until they numbered eventually twenty-eight formal articles of indictment. The storm threw Bacon back upon himself in agitation, not of soul, but certainly of mind and body, and induced an illness that prevented direct reply. He addressed the House of Lords, however, in writing, asking for strict justice and present suspension of judgment, and declaring his resolve to defend himself. The Lords answered coolly, and proceeded to examine the complaints, the popular clamour being so sinister that Bacon's affectionate friend, Sir Thomas Meautys, protested against its blindness and bitterness: "I have known and observed his Lordship for some years: he hath sown a good seed of justice; let not the abandoned and envious choke it with their tares."

During Easter, Parliament stood adjourned, and Bacon prepared himself for the dénouement. Of the vindictiveness of the attack he had written thus to Buckingham: "Your Lordship spoke of purgatory. I am now in it; but my mind is in a calm; for my fortune is not my felicity. I know I have clean hands and a clean heart, and I hope a clean house for friends or servants. But Job himself, or whosoever was the justest judge, by such hunting for matters against him, as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul, especially in a time when greatness is the mark, and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a chancellor, I think if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up. But the King and your Lordship will I hope put an end to these my straits, one way or other." Bacon here uses "mind" for conscience, or sensibility, for he saw the seriousness of his position, and the tone of the letter reveals troubled thought. He knew himself to be a man innocent in motive whom it would be easy to prove guilty in fact; he knew that James and Buckingham might be tempted to sacrifice him to his and their enemies; and he knew, too, that whatever might be his right of recognition as a just judge and great thinker, "it should be" is too often balked in this world by "here it cannot be." He declared to James: "For the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking

rewards to pervert justice; howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times." The prayer, too, which he wrote at this time, is a moving one, and concludes significantly: "When I have ascended before men, I have descended in humiliation before thee . . . so as I may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage."

The *Novum Organum*, mentioned above, had appeared in October, 1620, and was intended as an instalment, with the earlier *Advancement of Learning* and the later *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, of Bacon's review of "all knowledge," his *Great Instauration*. It is the fruit of twelve years of composition, and though finally published in somewhat unmethodical form, strikes the keynote of the Baconian philosophy, trial by experiment, the submission of theory to natural laws, and the achievement of freedom by harmonious coöperation with those laws.

As the determination of Parliament to push the prosecution, and the reluctance — indeed the inability — of James and Buckingham decisively to interfere became more and more apparent, Bacon urged the King at least to save him from sentence, and offered to resign the Seal. In vain. Nothing could now prevent his formal trial, not even his withdrawal of all attempt at defence. In Bacon's memorandum of his last conference with James before the House met again, he says: "The law of nature teaches me to speak in my own defence. With respect to

this charge of bribery, I am as innocent as any born upon St. Innocent's Day: I never had bribe or reward in my eye or thought when pronouncing sentence or order. If, however, it is absolutely necessary, the King's will shall be obeyed. I am ready to make an oblation of myself to the King, in whose hands I am as clay, to be made a vessel of honour or dishonour." The King indicated his desire, hinting strongly that Bacon should submit, and seems to have made him a definite promise concerning future pardon and remission. The "trial" took place, the House of Lords acting as both judge and prosecutor. A formal answer was required to each count in the indictment, and it was then adjudged "that, upon his own confession, they had found him guilty: and therefore that he shall undergo fine and ransom of forty thousand pounds; be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; be forever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the State or Commonwealth; and shall never sit in Parliament, nor come within the verge of the Court."

From the Tower, where, of course, his stay was exceedingly brief, the fallen Chancellor wrote to Buckingham: "However I have acknowledged that the sentence is just, and for reformation sake fit, I have been a trusty, and honest, and Christ-loving friend to your Lordship, and *the justest chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time.*" Shortly afterward, his fine was cancelled, and eventually, after miserable delays and

conditions, he was allowed to reënter London, York House first passing into Buckingham's too selfish hands. A complete pardon Bacon never obtained. He was not permitted to reënter Parliament, and was given scant encouragement by James to pursue even philosophy and letters, though the Court party, and, indeed, his judges at large, knew him to be in himself an upright man, the victim of his own integrity as of others' lack of integrity. Sackville, for example, in conferring with him after the sentence, used this remarkable expression concerning Bacon's unwillingness to give up York House: "If you part not speedily with it, you may defer the good which is approaching near you, and disappointing other aims . . . perhaps anew yield matter of discontent, *though you may be indeed as innocent as before.*"

But five years remained for Bacon, years of unremitting literary toil and philosophic achievement; years, besides, not of brooding over the past but of unconquerable hope for the future. He knew that all debts are at length paid, or, rather, are always being paid. As Emerson — himself a terse essayist on several of Bacon's themes — so finely puts it, "the world is full of judgment days." Unfortunately, Bacon did not so fully realize the corresponding truth, that "our own orbit is all our task." That same is God's thought of a man he felt and believed, yet he allowed himself to become cumbered with much serving, often for lower immediate ends than he

himself would have chosen. His anxiety for the little often obscured or retarded his pursuit of the large. He was too frequently embarrassed with conditions which we could wish he had been spared, for both his character's sake and his work's sake. Yet he was always a progressive man. Too reserved ever to make himself winsome, like Essex; too gentle and discreet to impress himself with coarse positiveness on the official and popular mind, like Coke; a steady and conscientious thinker; a modest and dignified gentleman; an equipped lawyer; a discriminating upholder of the prerogative; a benevolent user of men; and a consistently eager reformer of learning; Bacon presents a composite yet appreciable character.

During his last years he finished his famous *History of Henry VII.*, and began his *History of Henry VIII.* and his *History of Great Britain*, neither of which was completed. In 1623 he wrote his *History of Life and Death*, published the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, an enlargement in Latin of the "Advancement," and, probably, the unfinished *De Atlantis*. In 1625, as before stated, the last edition of the *Essays* appeared, and the same year found him busily engaged in compiling voluminous records and observations.

The death of James early in the year was soon followed by that of Bacon, Easter Day, April 9, 1626, due to bronchitis contracted while testing the preservative value of snow upon the dead body of a hen. He passed away in a house belonging to the Earl of

Arundel, at Highgate, attended by one or two faithful friends. At his own request he was buried near his mother in the Church of St. Michael, at St. Albans. Over his tomb is loyal Sir Thomas Meautys's monument of him, with a stately Latin epitaph by Sir Henry Wotton. His will leaves his name and memory "to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages."

BACON AS A PHILOSOPHER

It will be neither desirable nor necessary to present more than a rapid outline here of the Baconian philosophy, with an estimate of its worth and influence.

"Father of inductive science" is the title frequently, even generally, bestowed upon Bacon. This title belongs to him, however, rather in reference to the large and would-be successful adventure of his fertile mind in a day of intellectual vagary and confusion, than in reference to either his idea of a natural philosophy or his method of establishing that idea. His idea, indeed, failed to take into account the complexity and versatility of nature, and his method was fatally depersonalized—if we may use the word—a method in itself arbitrary and mechanical, ignoring the value of imagination as framing hypotheses, of enthusiasm as giving zest to the chase of causal relations, and of humility in yielding as merely tentative theories that should become unfit to account for newly observed phenomena.

Bacon's prime idea was, in a word, induction. This was not even in his day by any means a novel idea, but he gave to it great dignity and clearness. He insisted upon trial by experiment, upon the faithful and minute examination of all known facts as the first step in the movement toward a comprehensive and interpretative knowledge. He believed that this kingdom of knowledge was open to all men who would walk therein steadily and with assurance; that guesses were vain; that past philosophies had been largely barren; that facile generalizations must be forsworn; and that, ascending as from the base to the apex of a triangle, man must pass slowly but certainly from masses of fact, by means of comparison and elimination, to the pure form, or cause, or essence, which, once known, is known as fixed and changeless.

The most thorough and admiring students of Bacon's philosophy, however, such as Ellis, Spedding, Nichol, and others, willing though they be to attribute to him and to the Frenchman Descartes the setting in motion of the modern impulse in philosophy, recognize the weaknesses in the elaborate programme of the *Novum Organum* and its author's failure to realize his programme. Briefly stated, the weaknesses of Bacon as a philosopher are these: he himself had not the temper of the inductive scientist. "His centuries of observations on useful science, and his experiments," Emerson supposes, "were worth nothing. One hint of Franklin, or Watt, or Dalton, or Davy, or any one who had a talent for experiment, was worth

all his lifetime of exquisite trifles." He tended to ignore the importance of thorough personal equipment in the investigator, and was without regard, therefore, for mathematics, a necessary companion in precisely such undertakings as his. Again, if he lacked the patience of the scientist, he lacked also his enthusiasm. His tone in the *Novum Organum* and the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* sometimes waxes overlofty and positive, or becomes on occasion coldly directive. He did not bring all of himself to his great task, his work often suggesting rather the well-oiled processes of the professional thinker than the high spirit of Emerson's Man Thinking. Further, as indicated above, he seeks to cancel all hypotheses, which, however, must be conceived as antecedent ideas in order to the success of any scientific enterprise. He asserted that his own method was so certain as to preclude all necessity for preconceptions. Yet, and largely for this very reason, he himself failed to make any one definite contribution to the discoveries of Science, allowing himself to be outstripped by lesser men than he, his contemporaries Kepler, Harvey, and Gilbert.

Bacon's name, nevertheless, will justly remain famous as that of England's greatest philosopher, in that his principles were sounder than he knew. Though his reach exceeded his grasp, he saw pretty clearly that the inductive system must be rescued from loose ways and cleansed from the errors conceived in the bad company of tradition. He spoke out

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The most thorough and admiring students of Bacon's philosophy, however, such as Ellis, Spedding, Nichol, and others, willing though they be to attribute to him and to the Frenchman Descartes the setting in motion of the modern impulse in philosophy, recognize the weaknesses in the elaborate programme of the *Novum Organum* and its author's failure to realize his programme. Briefly stated, the weaknesses of Bacon as a philosopher are these: he himself had not the temper of the inductive scientist. "His centuries of observations on useful science, and his experiments," Emerson supposes, "were worth nothing. One hint of Franklin, or Watt, or Dalton, or Davy, or any one who had a talent for experiment, was worth

all his lifetime of exquisite trifles." He tended to ignore the importance of thorough personal equipment in the investigator, and was without regard, therefore, for mathematics, a necessary companion in precisely such undertakings as his. Again, if he lacked the patience of the scientist, he lacked also his enthusiasm. His tone in the *Norum Organum* and the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* sometimes waxes overlofty and positive, or becomes on occasion coldly directive. He did not bring all of himself to his great task, his work often suggesting rather the well-oiled processes of the professional thinker than the high spirit of Emerson's Man Thinking. Further, as indicated above, he seeks to cancel all hypotheses, which, however, must be conceived as antecedent ideas in order to the success of any scientific enterprise. He asserted that his own method was so certain as to preclude all necessity for preconceptions. Yet, and largely for this very reason, he himself failed to make any one definite contribution to the discoveries of Science, allowing himself to be outstripped by lesser men than he, his contemporaries Kepler, Harvey, and Gilbert.

Bacon's name, nevertheless, will justly remain famous as that of England's greatest philosopher, in that his principles were sounder than he knew. Though his reach exceeded his grasp, he saw pretty clearly that the inductive system must be rescued from loose ways and cleansed from the errors conceived in the bad company of tradition. He spoke out

boldly in favour of methods of examination which he himself was too preoccupied and unequipped to pursue in the free spirit with which he proclaimed them. "He spoke the thoughts of patient toilers like Harvey," says Church, "with a largeness and richness which they could not command, and which they perhaps smiled at. He disentangled and spoke the vague thoughts of his age, which other men had not the courage and clearness of mind to formulate. What Bacon *did*, indeed, and what he *meant*, are separate matters. He *meant* an infallible method by which man should be fully equipped for a struggle with nature: he meant an irresistible and immediate conquest, within a definite and not distant time. It was too much. He himself saw no more of what he meant than Columbus did of America. But what he *did* was, to persuade men for the future that the intelligent, patient, persevering cross-examination of things, and the thoughts about them, was the only, and was the successful road to know."

Hamlet's admiration for the greatness of man is shared by Bacon in so far at least as it relates to the nobility of his reason and the divineness of his apprehension. Despite the ineffectiveness of his own experiments, as Emerson goes on to tell us, "he drinks of a diviner stream, and marks the influx of idealism into England. Where that goes is poetry, health, and progress." And it is of chief importance here that we shall recognize the great value of Bacon's work in philosophy as claiming for man the intellect-

nal power requisite for the mastery of nature's laws and secrets. It is this high declaration of enterprise, this assured promise of victory, that wins for Bacon the suffrages of all succeeding explorers in the world of thought. "As a student of nature," wrote E. P. Whipple in *The Atlantic Monthly* for November, 1868, "his fame is greater than his deserts; as a student of human nature, he is hardly yet appreciated; and it is to the greater part of the first book of the *Novum Organum*, where he deals in general reflections on those mental habits and dispositions which interfere with pure intellectual conscientiousness, and where his beneficent spirit and rich imagination lend sweetness and beauty to the homeliest practical wisdom, that the reader impatiently returns, after being wearied with the details of his method given in the second book. His method was antiquated in his own lifetime; but it is to be feared that centuries hence his analysis of the idols of the human understanding will be as fresh and new as human vanity and pride."

To conclude this brief review, let it be noticed that Bacon's work spells, in its own way, the name of God. It is not dispassionate merely, but philanthropic. He desired not only to instruct, but also to elevate, mankind, and accordingly informs his words often with something more than knowledge—

"... earthly of the mind,
" But Wisdom heavenly of the soul."

Let the following passages attest, of which the first is taken from *The Advancement of Learning* and the remaining two from the *Novum Organum*: "For the contemplation of God's creatures and works produceth (having regard to the works and creatures themselves) knowledge; but having regard to God, no perfect knowledge, but wonder, which is broken knowledge." "Therefore let all men know how much difference there is between the *idola* of the human Mind and the Ideas of the Divine. For the former are nothing but arbitrary abstractions; the latter are the true stamps of the Creator upon his creatures. . . . And so truth and utility in this case are the very same things; and results themselves are to be more esteemed, as being pledges of truth, than as supplying conveniences for life." "Let the human race only recover the rights over Nature which by God's endowment belong to it; and let power be given it, right Reason and sound Religion will direct its application."

THE ESSAYS

An essay, as the name implies, is in general an adventuring, an endeavour to do something. In literature this meaning holds good, though the beginnings of the literary essay are to be looked for in casual experiences, in the suggestions that come to thinkers in "undress" mood, in the "play" side of life. The essay as a type has very slowly taken on dignity and differentiated itself from other types.

It has been normally considered a by-product, few writers of fame having as yet restricted their production to this form. Dr. Johnson's definition of the essay as "a loose sally of the mind" is admirable, provided that by "loose" we understand "tentatively reaching out after," not "poorly organized," for the essay's very artlessness and abandon are subject to law. The charm of the essay, particularly of the lyric order, lies in its flexibility, its prattle, so to speak, and is gone unless the principles of brevity, clearness, and ease, or winsomeness, be continuously observed. Even the apparent sacrifice of coherence should, if possible, be more apparent than real.

The term has long since become an elastic one, extending from a competent writer's casually related jottings on a chosen subject to the more formal and pretentious treatise. Montaigne appears to have given the word its place in literature. His *Essais* were published at Bordeaux in 1580, and soon became familiar to Shakespeare and to the Bacon brothers, Anthony, indeed, having been in Bordeaux about that time. Montaigne used the word in its primary meaning, and he and his readers stressed the second syllable in pronunciation.¹ That such differing

¹ This would seem also to have been the Elizabethan English pronunciation. Compare the following doggerel, attributed to Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester:—

"When learned Bacon wrote *Essays*
He did deserve and hath the praise;
But now he writes his 'Apophthegms,'
Surely he does or he dreams."

writers as Bacon, Lamb, Emerson, Lowell, Pater, have employed the form leads at once to the statement that there are several orders of the essay, their nature varying with their source. There is, first, the portrait-essay, with its personal cameos and miniature appraisements, found in many of Addison's "Spectator" papers, in some of Dickens's "Sketches by Boz," and in a few of Agnes Repplier's essays of our own time. This is followed by the deliberately humorous essay, as others of Dickens's, not a few of Thackeray's, and papers by Holmes, Clemens, Douglas Jerrold; the "wisdom" essay, as Bacon's and Emerson's; the critical essay, as Pater's or Goldwin Smith's, representing the personal sally of the cultured mind into the field of literary criticism; the historical essay, as many of Macaulay's and Carlyle's; the "nature" essay, as represented by the work of Izaak Walton and of Henry D. Thoreau; the professional essay, constituting a literary treatment of legal, medical, or theological topics; and, last, the "lyric" essay, so called because it seeks to bring the reader into close, personal, intimate touch with the writer himself, his moods, whims, and vagaries, to express — or, rather, to suggest — the writer's emotion, to "make friends," — a fashion delightfully represented by Lamb, by Stevenson, and, in our day, by Samuel M. Crothers.

To the third of these orders Bacon's essays belong. They are, as Bacon himself phrases it, "certain brief notes, set down rather significantly

than curiously, requiring both leisure in the writer and reader," and devoted to the direct and even proverbial exposition of topics for the most part weighty. "Though the word is late," he writes to the Prince of Wales, "the thing is ancient; for Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if you mark them well, are but essays; that is, dispersed meditations though conveyed in the form of epistles. These labours of mine, I know, cannot be worthy of your Highness, for what can be worthy of you? But my hope is, they may be as grains of salt, that will rather give you an appetite than offend you with satiety. And although they handle those things wherein both men's lives and their persons are most conversant; yet what I have attained I know not; but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience and little in books; so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies." Their subject-matter ranges from the abstractions of Truth and Love, through the daily businesses of Travel, Expense, Studies, and empirical observations on Gardens and Building, to the half-concessive discussion of such "toys" as Masques and Triumphs. The contents of the third edition may be loosely classified as follows: I. Conditions of Personal Welfare. (a) Moral and Intellectual — Numbers 4, 5, 12, 14, 27, 31, 34, 50, 53-55, 57. (b) Political and Prudential — Numbers 6, 18, 21-23, 25, 26, 28, 32, 47-49. (c) Physical and Domestic — Numbers 30, 43-46. II. World-Problems, common to Man-

kind — Numbers 1, 2, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 38, 40, 42, 58
 III. Topics relating to Society as Such — Numbers
 3, 7, 8, 11, 15, 19, 20, 24, 29, 33, 35-37, 39, 41, 51, 52,
 56.

The first edition of the *Essays* appeared in 1597, in a thin octavo volume, — “*Essayes, Religious Meditations, Places of Perswasion and Diswasion, Scene and Allowed,*” — and included three distinct works, the *Meditationes Sacrae* in Latin, the *Colours of Good and Evil*, and the *Essays* proper, then numbering ten, and touching Study, Discourse, Ceremonies and Respects, Followers and Friends, Suitors, Expence, Regiment of Health, Honour and Reputation, Faction, and Negotiating. All of these had been partially current for some years in manuscript. The little book was affectionately dedicated by Francis Bacon, then thirty-six years of age, to his brother Anthony, as follows: —

“TO MR. ANTHONY BACON,

“His Dear Brother.

“Loving and beloved brother, I do now like some that have an orchard ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceit were going to print: to labour the stay of them had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them pass had been to adventure the wrong they might receive by untrue copies, or by some garnishment, which it might please any that should set them forth to bestow

upon them. Therefore I held it best discretion to publish them myself, as they passed long ago from my pen, without any further disgrace than the weakness of the author. And as I did ever hold, there might be as great a vanity in retiring and withdrawing men's conceits (except they be of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: so in these particulars I have played myself the inquisitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrary or infectious to the state of religion, or manners, but rather, as I suppose, medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out, because they will be like the late new half-pence, which, though the silver were good, yet the pieces were small. But since they would not stay with their master, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next myself; dedicating them, such as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof, I assure you, I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon myself, that her Majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind; and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies, for which I am fittest: so commend I you to the preservation of the Divine Majesty. From my chamber at Gray's Inn, this 30th of January, 1597.

"Your entire loving brother,

"FRANCIS BACON."

This edition was reprinted in 1598 by Humphrey Hooper, with the *Religious Meditations* in English,

but otherwise unchanged, and eight years later John Jaggard put out a pirated edition.

The second regular and authorized edition was printed at London, in 1612, in an octavo entitled "The Essaies of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall. Imprinted at London by John Beale, 1612," and dedicated in the following words to Sir John Constable, Bacon's brother-in-law:—

"To My Loving Brother,

"SIR JOHN CONSTABLE, KNT.

"My last Essays I dedicated to my dear brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking among my papers this vacation, I found others of the same nature: which, if I myself shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world will not, by the often printing of the former. Missing my brother, I found you next; in respect of bond both of near alliance, and of straight friendship and society, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge myself beholding to you. For as my business found rest in my contemplations, so my contemplations ever found rest in your loving conference and judgment. So wishing you all good, I remain your loving brother and friend,

"FRANCIS BACON.

"1612."

Bacon had originally intended to dedicate this edition to Henry, Prince of Wales, who, however, died

before the book was published. It contained thirty-eight essays, including all but one — "Honour and Reputation" — of the original group, though in forms much revised and amplified. "I always alter," said Bacon, "when I add, so that nothing is finished till all is finished." Though the table gives forty titles, the last two, "Of the Public" and "Of War and Peace," were virtually merged with "Of Greatness of Kingdoms."

Four pirated editions followed, dated one in 1612, one in 1613, and two in 1624. The third regular edition, a quarto, appeared in 1625, entitled "The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis L. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. Newly enlarged. London. Printed by John Haviand for Hanna Barret and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the Signe of the King's Head in Paul's Churchyard." It was dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham, and contained fifty-eight essays, — the original ten, including "Honour and Reputation"; the twenty-nine added in 1612; and nineteen new. Of the thirty-nine previously published nearly all had undergone close revision, and much new material had been added to them. "Of Religion" and "Of Friendship," two of the essays of the second edition, were re-written *in toto*.

That the *Essays* brought him more contemporary popularity as a writer than any other of his works was early recognized by Bacon, "for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and

bosoms." It cannot be said, however, that he ever looked upon them as peculiarly of his own business and bosom. "As for my Essays, and some other particulars of that nature," he writes to the Bishop of Winchester, "I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that manner purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that these kind of writings would, with less pains and assiduity, perhaps yield more lustre and reputation to my name than the others I have in hand." Bacon's idea of them would seem to be that they were as the diverse byways leading to the large and solid structure of his thought-system, represented by such works as the *Novum Organum*, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, and *Advancement of Learning*, and that though many of his readers would doubtless be content to wander in these little paths, so perhaps catching occasional and various glimpses of the central building, yet that possibly those very glimpses might lead a few at least to undertake the more toilsome excursion into and through the building itself. It is not difficult, on this hypothesis, to account for Bacon's eagerness to have the *Essays*, with his other English works, translated into Latin, a task in which his good friends George Herbert and Ben Jonson, with others, participated. The *Essays* appeared also in French and Italian.

Why Bacon placed such positive faith in the future of the Latin tongue is a question less readily answered when we consider the power, aspiration, and

essential independence of the Elizabethan temper, and the boldly successful use of homeliest Saxon by such men as Shakespeare, Spenser, Raleigh, and even Bacon himself, as occasion directed and justified. It cannot, of course, be fairly said that Shakespeare and Spenser deliberately anticipated their fame, or thought much about the permanency of their vernacular, despite Spenser's dedicatory phrase of hope that the *Faerie Queene* should live with the eternity of Elizabeth's fame. Indeed, the really great Elizabethans, with the prominent exception of Bacon, show for the most part a much more royal indifference to their future memories and influence than their modern successors are accustomed to do. It is true that late Tudor English shows a marked Latinizing tendency, owing to the revival of interest in classical literature and the unquenchable curiosity of the men of the Renaissance in both intellectual and physical travel. The prevailing craze for Euphuism -- a vice from which Shakespeare, Sidney, and Bacon themselves, though condemning it, were not wholly free, especially in their earlier work -- was due to the belief of John Lyly, its foremost exponent, and others, that there was as yet no standard of good English style: a defect they sought to remedy by the over-nice use of classical balance and Italian ornament. Antithesis, alliteration, and assonance are its prevailing characteristics, and excellent specimens, outside of Lyly's *Euphues*, may be found in such a phrase as this, from Sidney's

Defense of Poesy: "... who by their own disgracefulness disgrace the most graceful poesy," or in this from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*:—

"This griefes deepe wound I would to thee disclose,
Thereto compelled through hart-murdring paine;
But dread of shame my doubtfull lips doth still restraine."

"Ah! my deare dread," said then the fearefull mayd,
'Can dread of ought your dreadlesse hart withhold,
That many hath with dread of death dismayd,
And dare even deathes most dreadfull face behold?'"

or in Shakespeare's delighted burlesque of it in the Handicraftsmen's play concluding *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; the ostentatious lament of Laertes at Ophelia's funeral, etc. There is an interesting use of it, to select but one example, in Bacon's essay, "*Of Suitors*": "Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver."

The dangerous ease with which Euphuism ran to extremes brought about early reactions. The fashion was laughed out of court by Puttenham, Sidney, and others by the end of the sixteenth century, — certainly Bacon was never mastered by it, — yet

copious borrowing from the Latin continued and was extended with the increase of new intellectual needs and discoveries. The native vocabulary was greatly expanded, and literary style as well as diction felt accordingly the Latinizing influence. Under such circumstances, it is plain that Latin had first-rate dignity in the regard of thinking men, whatever affection they might show also for English. Bacon composed much directly in Latin, and translated his English work into "that universal language which may last," he said, "as long as books last," for very much the same reason that leads a man to prefer a full to a half-morocco binding. It was felt, indeed, by both his contemporaries and himself, though much less strongly by them, perhaps, than by him, that English was in process of becoming, and that the very age and traditions of Latin were effective guarantees of its stability as a literary language. To his friend Toby Matthews Bacon wrote shortly before his death: "It is true, my labour is now most set to have those works which I had formerly published well translated into Latin, for these modern languages will at one time or other play the bankrupt with books, and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God would give me leave, to recover it with posterity." And to James he wrote concerning the *Advancement of Learning*: "I have been mine own *Index Expurgatorius*, that it may be read in all places. For since my end of putting it in Latin was to have it read everywhere, it had been an absurd contradiction

to free it in the language and to pen it up in the matter."

This reverence for Latin shows itself not only in the foregoing expressions, but also in the very English of the *Essays*. Both the temper and diction of the more abstract among them are Latin in source. In nearly all of them passages from the works of Cicero, Tacitus, Virgil, and Livy are freely quoted, and the Latin cast of word or phrase is often deliberately preferred to the more intelligible vernacular. Yet Bacon's work is vigorously Elizabethan, for all that. In his most "classic" moments a frankly Saxon phrase or a bit of blunt humour will sometimes assert itself. Bacon was no verbal fop; he knew what he wished to say, and said it, if now with brief and stately eloquence, because that must have seemed to him the way befitting the occasion; or if, again, with abrupt and homely directness, because that manner, too, would at times fit most sincerely the matter of his discourse.

It is possible, of course, to detect and discuss the prime elements of Bacon's style. To insist upon a precise characterization of his style is more difficult. Indeed, as Mr. Reynolds expresses it, "the fact seems to be that Bacon had at all times almost any style at command, and that he varies his style with the occasion, becoming all things in turn so as to ensure getting a hearing, trying one experiment after another, and giving proof of mastery in each. . . . To speak therefore of Bacon's style is in strict terms impos-

sible." Yet we may say that though a master of styles, the style in which Bacon uses those styles is always one and recognizable. It is always, in the noblest meaning of the word, an austere style, — whether haughty, high and proud; crisp, nervous, informational and epigrammatic; or even graciously conversational. By this is meant not merely that his utterance, like his personality, more immediately wins our respect than our affection, that his dignity is equal to every situation, and that he does not seem to invite a too enthusiastic praise; but also that these very qualities cover others less willingly displayed, — honour, ruth, hope, and power. Bacon seldom unlocks his heart, yet there is a way of approaching him that forestalls unlocking.

The essays at large are temptingly quotable, as in "Praise is the reflection of virtue"; "Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set"; "Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man." Yet their very lack of elaboration makes it unsafe to quote too authoritatively from them. We are not conscious of pedantry or posing in these "brief notes," through which Bacon speaks to us in a manner more human than that of the *Novum Organum*. We are conscious, rather and always, of Bacon himself, of his essential superiority to tricks and ruts of style, of his little worldly prudences as of his riper and larger wisdom; of his concern for the empirical ego as of his interest in the soul of man. In short, Bacon's variously haughty and

human manners may succeed each other, or even at times commingle; but of himself, as an able, willing, and resourceful critic of life, we can never be unmindful. He is "playing the game," and he intends that his readers shall learn to play it, too, as they may and can; and so he seems to say to us all: "I will tell you what and how I think of these affairs when in my own company, and sometimes you shall even hear how I *feel*. You will do well, I think, to heed me, for I am able to be your friend, and the Academy to which I invite you as Platonic pupils is not without its just title."

In such a case we have hardly the right to look for extreme finish and final symmetry of manner. Bacon's paragraphs are, indeed, less units than series, his essays less treatises than terse eloquences. And yet it is a mistake to declare, with Church, that "nothing can be more loose than the structure of the essays. There is no art, no style, almost, except in a few, the political ones, no order: thoughts are put down and left unsupported, unproved, undeveloped." The student will find, instead, upon careful examination, that the essays are often nuclei of ordered wholes, capable of being taken as schemes or synopses. Though the flower has not grown, the bud is full to bursting, and this analogy is the more reassuring when we consider the slowly expanding growth of the original essays. Though it is doubtful that Bacon looked upon his *Essays* at any time as finished products, even of their kind, it is not doubtful that

the law of their growth was rather that of the rose than of the haystack.

Take, for example, *Essay L., "Of Studies,"* one of the original ten, amplified in 1612 and again in 1625. Its movement is superbly brief and simple, yet not "loose." In all three editions it conforms itself to the following considerations: (I.) The Value of Studies; (II.) The Government of Studies, (1) in general, (2) in particular. As examples of thought-unity we may select almost at random *Essay I., "Of Truth,"* and *XVI., "Of Atheism."* The former may be thus analyzed:—

- I. The Difficulty of "Finding" Truth, because of
 1. Laxity of belief
 2. Love of untruth
 - (a) Cause
 - (b) Final danger
- II. The Necessity of Finding Truth
 1. In matters divine
 2. In matters human
- III. Conclusion

The structure of the essay, "*Of Atheism,*" may be given as follows:—

- I. The Incredibility of Atheism
 1. Philosophically considered
 2. Scripturally considered
 3. Practically considered
- II. Testimonies against Atheism
 1. Epicurus
 2. Indians of the West

- III. Rarity of Atheism
- IV. Causes of Atheism
- V. Ill Effects of Atheism
 - 1. On individuals
 - 2. On the nation
and
- VI. *Per Contra*: Good Effects of Theism
 - 1. On individuals
 - 2. On the nation

If the student will undertake similar analyses, he will find little difficulty in convincing himself of the intellectual compactness and coherence, if not of the weighed rhetorical unity, of most of the *Essays*.

Bacon's repetitive habit, frequently manifest in his legal speeches and politic devices, and which seems to indicate caution and conservatism in the management of his mental store, appears also in his literary work, plainly enough in the *Essays*, both in themselves and in relation to his other writings. He "works" an allusion or an illustration as often as he well may, and that without precise reference to its original point. His carelessness, indeed, in the matter of quotation has been often censured, — his attribution as first-hand, to the authors using them, of many second-hand passages, exactly as one might impute to Bacon himself: "When Plutus is sent from Jupiter, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs and is swift of foot." He even blunders at times in the matter of source, giving

credit wrongly, and, like Lamb, not seldom adapts the quoted material to his own immediate ends. Yet it is beside the mark to insist upon censure here. After all, regard for precise conformity in matters of detail is a comparatively modern feeling. The Elizabethans generally — and Lamb, “the last of the Elizabethans” — were not sticklers for formal exactness, and would doubtless display — had they the opportunity — a certain impatience at that order of contemporary criticism that takes delight in hunting down examples of careless allusion and anachronism. These overlookings testify rather to indifference than to ignorance, and literal fidelity of reference is often cheerfully foregone because it does not enter into the artist’s thought or theory of art.

It remains to speak of the autobiographical value of the *Essays*, which is particularly marked in “Of Nature in Men,” “Of Adversity,” “Of Friendship,” “Of Counsel,” “Of Ambition,” “Of Fortune,” etc. The three qualities of imagination, humour, and worldliness — in the better meaning of the term — are peculiarly interesting in this regard, although the second of these is least apparent. In such essays as “Of Truth,” “Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature,” and “Of Atheism,” Bacon’s really noble imaginings take tentative shape and wing their way through caution and experience to something of that freedom of soul that expresses itself in the most adventurous and catholic passages of the *Advance-*

ment of Learning and the first book of the *Novum Organum*. In the essays "Of Boldness," "Of Usury," "Of Friendship," "Of Gardens," we have pleasing revelations of Bacon's willingness and ability to smile: "Especially it is a sport to see, when a bold fellow is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a most shrunk and wooden posture;" "So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia;" ". . . and so cure the disease and kill the patient;" "As for the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths . . . they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts." And in "Of Great Place," "Of Empire," "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates," "Of Suitors," "Of Simulation and Dissimulation," "Of Judicature," etc., the equipped lawyer and statesman exploits his rules of living often, it is true, in Machiavellian fashion, yet with an openness that attests its own sincerity. Under the almost autocratic rule of Elizabeth and James there was much encouragement for the man of tact and discretion — a condition discussed at some length in the preceding *Life of Bacon* — and we find the *Essays* testifying to Bacon's acceptance of the situation and offering his readers a tested personal programme of "high behaviour." Yet in the best moments, even when handling the more equivocal among these themes, Bacon shows a root idealism that claims our reverence.

To conclude, ample testimony to Bacon's clarity of

thought, equable catholicity of temper and essential goodness of soul, is afforded in the *Essays*. They breathe a spirit of serene if superior good-will, and they depend upon a proud sense of power. In short, they are the skilled, sure utterances of a senior comrade. Their often penetrating insight, their discretion, their reserve, make us aware of a master. Bacon's knowledge of what and when to omit never shows to better advantage than in the *Essays*. He recognized, indeed, as all great writers must recognize, that language is a means only — and not a completely adequate means — to the expression of thought; that the word is but a symbol, able to become vitalized, but not in itself vital. However little and local portions of the *Essays* may appear at times to be, the spirit of the whole is seen, when rightly read, to be large and for all. Their reminiscence, their vision, and their truth make them literature. To the young student, seeking high leadership in the world of ideas and letters, and to the older and more discriminative reader, asking only that each of his guides and friends shall be true to his own inspiration and interpret himself while he interprets life, Bacon's *Essays* will remain potent in charm and stimulus.

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Macaulay's *Essay on Bacon*.

Harmony of the Essays. 1597–1626. Macmillan.

The most complete list of Bacon's works is that found in the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*. In the volume published in 1884, columns 93–116 are devoted to Bacon; and in the Supplement of 1900, columns 69–73.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

(TO THE THIRD AND FINAL EDITION OF THE ESSAYS,
PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE
AUTHOR, 1625.)

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD THE DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM HIS GRACE, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF
ENGLAND.

Excellent Lord,

Solomon says, "A good name is as a precious ointment;" and I assure myself such will your Grace's name be with posterity. For your fortune and merit both have been eminent. And you have planted things that are like to last. I do now publish my *Essays*; which, of all my other works, have been most current; for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight; so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and Latin. For I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last. My *Instauration* I dedicated to the King; my *History of Henry the Seventh* (which I have now also translated into Latin) and my portions of *Natural History* to the Prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace; being of the best fruits that by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and faithful servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN

ESSAYS OR COUNSELS CIVIL AND MORAL

I. OF TRUTH

“WHAT is truth?” said jesting Pilate^o; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness; and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting^o free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers^o of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that when it is found it imposeth upon^o men’s thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour: but a natural though corrupt love^o of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians^o examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it that men should love lies: where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie’s sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not

2 **ESSAYS OR COUNSELS CIVIL AND MORAL**

show the masks, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day; but it will not rise to the price
5 of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would,
10 and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers,^o in great severity, called poesy *vinum^o dæmonum*, because it filleth the imagination,
15 and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt; such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments
20 and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it — is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of
God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and his Sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the
30 matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the

face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet^o that beautified the sect^o that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well^o: "It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth" (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene) 10 "and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below:" so always, that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and 15 turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round^o dealing is the honour of man's nature; and 20 that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver: which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent, which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon 25 the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Montaigne^o saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge: 30

saith he, "If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth is as much as to say that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men." For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness
 5 of falsehood, and breach of faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold that when Christ cometh "He shall not find faith upon the earth."^o

II. OF DEATH

10 MEN fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a
 15 tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification,^o that a man should think with himself what the pain is if he have but his
 20 finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb: for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense.
 25 And by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man it was well said, "*Pompa^o mortis magis*

terret, quam mors ipsa." Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks,^o and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible.

It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion ⁵ in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy, when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; ¹⁰ honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth^o it: nay, we read, after Otho^o the emperor had slain himself, pity, which is the tenderest of affections, provoked many to die, out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of ¹⁵ followers. Nay, Seneca^o adds niceness and satiety: "Cogita^o quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest." A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same ²⁰ thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar^o died in a compliment: "Livia,^o conjugii nostri ²⁵ memor vive, et vale." Tiberius^o in dissimulation; as Tacitus^o saith of him: "Jam^o Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant." Vespasian^o in a jest; sitting upon the stool: "Ut^o puto, Deus fio." Galba^o with a sentence: "Feri,^o si ex re sit ³⁰

populi Romani;" holding forth his neck. Septimius Severus° in despatch: "Adeste,° si quid mihi restat agendum;" and the like.

Certainly the Stoics° bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, "qui° finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ." It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that
 10 dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death. But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is *Nunc*
 15 *dimittis*,° when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy. — "Extinctus° amabitur idem."

III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION

RELIGION being the chief band of human society,
 20 it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies than in any
 25 constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers

of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the Church: what are the fruits thereof, what the bounds, and what the means.

The fruits of unity, next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all, are two: the one towards those that are without the Church; the other towards those that are within. For the former: it is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body, a wound, or solution of continuity, is worse than a corrupt humour; so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the Church, and drive men out of the Church, as breach of unity; and therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, "Ecce in deserto;" another saith, "Ecce in penetralibus;" that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, "Nolite exire," go not out. The doctor of the Gentiles, the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without, saith: "If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?" And certainly it is little better when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion; it doth avert them

from the Church, and maketh them "to sit down in the chair of the scorers."° It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a manner, but yet it expresseth well the deformity: there is a master of scoffing,° that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, "The Morris-dance° of Heretics." For indeed every sect of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics,° who are apt to condemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace; which containeth infinite blessings: it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the Church distilleth into peace of conscience; and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bounds of unity: the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes. For to certain zelants° all speech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me."° Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans° and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements: as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league

of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were, in the two cross clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us is against us;" and again, "He that is not against us is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance, in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's Church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the Church's vesture was of divers colours: whereupon he saith: "*In veste^o varietas sit, scissura non sit;*" they be two things, unity and uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment

which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same: "*Devita^o profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ.*"

Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as, whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood in such things are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image^o: they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity: men must beware that in the procuring or muniting^o of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal, and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's^o sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or

intermixture of practice against the state: much less to nourish seditions, to authorize conspiracies and rebellions, to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon,^o that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed: 18

“Tantum^o religio potuit suadere malorum.”

What would he have said if he had known of the massacre^o in France, or the powder treason^o of England? He would have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was. For as the tem- 15
poral sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists^o and other furies. It was great blasphemy when the devil said, “I will ascend 20
and be like the Highest;” but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, “I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness.” And what is it better to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set,

out of the bark of a Christian Church, a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins. Therefore it is most necessary that the Church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and
 5 moral, as by their mercury rod, do damn and send to hell for ever those facts^o and opinions tending to the support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely in counsels concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would^o be pre-
 10 fixed, "*Ira^o hominis non implet justitiam Dei.*" And it was a notable observation of a wise father,^o and no less ingenuously confessed, "that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences were commonly interested^o therein themselves for their own ends."

IV. OF REVENGE

15 REVENGE is a kind of wild^o justice, which the more a man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge a man
 20 is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over he is superior: for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Solomon, I am sure, saith, "It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence."^o

That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise
 25 men have enough to do with things present and to come: therefore they do but trifle with themselves

that labour in past matters. There is no man doeth a wrong for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick or scratch, because they can do no other.

The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law^o to remedy; but then let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish; else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one.^o

Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh; this is the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent. But base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark.

Cosmus,^o Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: "You shall read," saith he, "that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends." But yet the spirit of Job^o was in a better tune: "Shall we," saith he, "take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?" And so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well.

Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar, for the death of Pertinax,^o for the death of Henry III. of France, and many more. But in private revenges it is not so. 5 Nay, rather, vindictive persons live the life of witches, who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.

V. OF ADVERSITY

It was a high speech of Seneca,^o after the manner of the Stoics,^o that the good things which belong to 10 prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity^o are to be admired. "*Bona^o rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.*" Certainly if miracles be the command over Nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher 15 speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), "It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man and the security of a God." "*Vere magnum,^o habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.*" This would have done better in poesy, where 20 transcendencies are more allowed. And the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of 25 a Christian: that Hercules,^o when he went to unbind Prometheus^o (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot

or pitcher; lively describing Christian resolution that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world.

But to speak in a mean^o: the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude,⁵ which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to¹⁰ David's harp^o you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes, and adversity is not without¹⁵ comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the²⁰ pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed; for prosperity doth best discover^o vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy or²⁵ wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth and to do it. Therefore

it is the weaker sort of politics° that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus° saith, "Livia sorted° well with the arts of her husband and dissimulation of her son;" attributing arts or policy to Augustus° and dissimulation to Tiberius.° And, again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian° to take arms against Vitellius,° he saith, "We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius." These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open and what to be secreted, and what to be showed at half-lights,° and to whom and when (which, indeed, are arts of state and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgment, then it is left to him, generally, to be close and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general; like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity; but then they were like horses, well managed°; for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn. And at such times, when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it

came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self. The first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy, when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken what he is. The second, dissimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments that he is not that he is. And the third, simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously^o and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy: it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions, for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open. And as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind^o; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides, to say truth, nakedness is uncomely as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open.^o As for talkers and futile^o persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down that an habit of secrecy is

both politic and moral. And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak.^e For the discovery of a man's self by the tracts^o of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd^o silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations or oraculous^o speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession: that I hold more culpable and less politic, except it be^o in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of simulation, which is this last degree, is a vice rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which, because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.^o

The great advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three:—First, to lay asleep opposition and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat: for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself, men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will fair^o 10 let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And, therefore, it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a lie, and find a truth;" as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to 15 set it even^o:—The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round^o flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits 20 of many that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief.^o The 25 best composition and temperature^o is to have openness in fame and opinion, secrecy in habit, dissimulation in seasonable use, and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor^o they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter; 5 they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to men; and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded 10 from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity.^o They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards 15 their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal, and some- 20 times unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon^o saith, "A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother." A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected and the youngest made wan- 25 tons^o; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who many times, nevertheless, prove the best.

The illiberality of parents in allowance towards

their children is an harmful error, — makes them base, acquaints them with shifts,^o makes them sort^o with mean company, and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty; and therefore the proof^o is best when men keep their authority towards their⁵ children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents and schoolmasters and servants) in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth^o to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. 14

The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump,^o they care not though they pass not through their own body. And, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew 13 sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent, as the blood happens.

Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too 20 much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true that if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally 21 the precept is good, "Optimum^o elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo." Younger brothers are commonly fortunate,^o but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

answer to the question, when a man should marry. "A young man not yet, an elder man not at all."^a It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing against their friends' consent; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX. OF ENVY.

10 THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate^o or bewitch, but love and envy. They both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon
 15 the presence of the objects; which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise the Scripture^o calleth envy an evil eye, and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects; so that still^o there seemeth to be
 20 acknowledged in the act of envy an ejaculation,^o or irradiation, of the eye. Nay, some have been so curious as to note that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph,
 25 for that sets an edge upon envy; and, besides, at such times the spirits of the person envied do come

forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place^o), we will handle what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious. For to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others. Neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy, for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: "Non est^o curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus."

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men^o when they rise. For the distance is altered, and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious; for he that cannot possibly mend his own case will do what he can to impair another's^o; except these defects light upon a very

brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour^o; in that it should be said that an eunuch or a lame man did such great matters; affecting the honour of a miracle: 5 as it was in Narses^o the eunuch, and Agesilaus^o and Tamberlanes,^o that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption 10 of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity^o and vain-glory, are ever envious; for they cannot want work, it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass them. 15 Which was the character of Adrian,^o the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters and artificers, in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to 20 envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth^o likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. 25 Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel because, when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on.^o Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject 30 to envy:—First, persons of eminent virtue when

they are advanced are less envied, for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self, and where there is no comparison, 5 no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied 10 when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre, for fresh men grow up that darken it.°

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising, for it seemeth but right done to their birth; besides, 15 there seemeth not much added to their fortune, and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground than upon a flat. And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, 20 and *per saltum*.°

Those that have joined with their honour great travels,° cares, or perils are less subject to envy, for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth 25 envy. Wherefore you shall observe that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a "*Quanta patimur*°;" not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. 30

But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business: and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places: for by that means there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner, being never well^o but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding, so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner, so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory, doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune,^o and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft and that is to remove the lot,^o as they call it, and to lay it upon another. For which

purpose the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive^o the envy that would come upon themselves: sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking^o natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now to speak of public envy. There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none. For public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of "discontentment," of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it, so when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible^o actions; for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more; as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves.^o But this is a sure

rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great when the cause of it in him is small, or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy, though hidden, is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections^o it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then, and therefore it was well said, "*Invidia^o festos dies non agit,*" for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection and the most depraved, for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called "the envious man,^o that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;" as it always cometh to pass that envy worketh subtilely and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X. OF LOVE

THE stage is more beholding^o to love than the life of man. For, as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a siren,

sometimes like a fury. You may observe that amongst all the great and worthy persons whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent, there is not one ° that hath been transported to the mad degree of love; which shows that great spirits and 5 great business do keep out this weak passion. ° You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, ° the half-partner of the Empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, ° the decemvir and law-giver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man and inordinate, 10 but the latter was an austere and wise man; and therefore it seems, though rarely, that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept.

It is a poor saying of Epicurus °: "Satis ° magnum 15 alter alteri theatrum sumus," as if man, made for the contemplation of Heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol ° and make himself subject, though not of the mouth, as beasts are, yet of the eye, which was given him for 20 higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves ° the nature and value of things, by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase; for where- 25 as it hath been well said ° that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, ° is a man's self, certainly the iover is more. For there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; 30

and therefore it is well said° "that it is impossible to love and to be wise." Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved: but to the loved most of all, except the love
 5 be reciproque.° For it is a true rule that love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque° or with an inward and secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which
 10 loseth not only other things but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them, that he that preferred Helena° quitted the gifts of Juno° and Pallas°; for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom.

This passion hath his° floods in the very times of
 15 weakness, which are great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet
 20 make it keep quarter,° and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check° once with business it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can noways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given
 25 to love; I think it is but as they are given to wine, for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures.

There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread
 30 itself towards many, and maketh men become hu-

mane and charitable, as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind, friendly love perfecteth it, but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI. OF GREAT PLACE

MEN in great place are thrice servants : servants ⁵ of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business ; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty ; or to seek power over others and to lose ¹⁰ power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains ; and it^o is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall or at least an eclipse, which ¹⁵ is a melancholy thing. "Cum^o non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere." Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason, but are impatient of privateness, even in age and sickness, which require the shadow ; like ²⁰ old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly, great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy, for if they judge by their own feeling they cannot find it ; but if they ²⁵ think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then

they are happy as it were by report, when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers^o to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. "Illi^o mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi."

10 In place there is license to do good and evil, whereof the latter is a curse; for in evil the best condition is not to will, the second not to can.^o But power to do good^o is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards
15 men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion,^o and conscience^o of the same is the accomplishment of
20 man's rest. For if a man can be partaker of God's theater, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. "Et conversus^o Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis," and then the Sabbath.^o

25 In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples, for imitation is a globe^o of precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own example, and examine thyself strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those
30 that have carried themselves ill in the same place,

not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery^o or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce^o things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but yet ask counsel of both times: of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory, and express thyself well^o when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*,^o than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places, and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place, and do not drive away such as bring thee information, as meddlers, but accept of them in good part.

The vices of authority are chiefly four: delays, corruption, roughness, and facility.^o For delays: give easy access, keep times appointed, go through with that which is in hand, and interlace^o not business but of necessity.^o For corruption: do not only bind thine own hands, or thy servants' hands, from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering.^o For integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation

of bribery, doth the other. And avoid not only the fault but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always
 5 when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward,^o and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought
 10 but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness: it is a needless cause of discontent; severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery.^o For bribes
 15 come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without. As Solomon^o saith: "To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread."

It is most true that was anciently spoken, "A place
 20 showeth the man;" and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse. "Omnium^o consensu, capax imperii, nisi imperasset," saith Tacitus^o of Gialba^o; but of Vespasian^o he saith, "Solus^o imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius." Though the one
 25 was meant of sufficiency,^o the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends.^o For honour is, or should be, the place of virtue: and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in
 30 their place; so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm.

All rising to great place is by a winding stair, and, if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self^o whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself^o when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place^o in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, "When he sits in place he is another man."

XII. OF BOLDNESS

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes,^o What was the chief part of an orator? He answered, Action. What next? — Action. What next again? — Action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that^o part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay, almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature^o generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part

of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business. What first? — Boldness.^o What second and third? — Boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts. But, nevertheless, it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore, we see it hath done wonders in popular states,^o but with senates and princes less; and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise.

15 Surely, as there are mountebanks^o for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out.

20 Nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet^o made the people believe that he would call an hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled; Mahomet called the hill to come to him, again and again; and when the hill stood still he was never a whit abashed, but said, "If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill." So these men, when they have promised great matters, and failed most shamefully; yet, if they have the perfection of boldness,

they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado.

Certainly to men of great judgment bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous; for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially, it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden^o posture, as needs it must; 10 for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay, like a stale^o at chess, where it is no mate,^o but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. 15

This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind: for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences. Therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the 20 direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers; and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII. OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting of^o the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call

philanthropia; and the word "humanity," as it is used, is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the
 5 greatest, being the character of the Deity; and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error.^o The desire of power in excess
 10 caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall; but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man, insomuch that if it issue not
 15 towards men, it will take unto other living creatures: as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch, as Busbechius^o reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been
 20 stoned for gagging, in a waggishness, a long-billed fowl.

Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, "Tanto buon che val niente": So
 25 good that he is good for nothing. And one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel,^o had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, "that the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust;"
 30 which he spake because indeed there was never law,

or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou *Æsop's* cock^o a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barleycorn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: "He 10 sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine, upon the just and unjust;"^o but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues, upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in 15 making the^o portraiture thou breakest the pattern; for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern, the love of our neighbours but the portraiture. "Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me."^o But sell not all thou hast except thou come and follow 20 me; that is, except thou have a vocation, wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for, otherwise, in feeding the streams thou driest the fountain.

Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed 25 by right reason, but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as on the other side there is a natural malignity. For there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, 30

- or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or diffiçileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and mere^o mischief. Such men in other men's calamities are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part^o; 5 not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores.^o but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw: *misanthropi*,^o that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon^o had.
- 10 Such dispositions are the very errors of human nature and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics^o of: like to knee-timber, that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm.
- 15 The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world,^o and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the 20 afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small 25 benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash.^o But, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ for the salvation of his brethren,^o it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of con- 30 formity with Christ himself.

XIV. OF NOBILITY

WE will speak of nobility, first as a portion of an estate,^o then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers^o sovereignty, and draws the 5 eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not: and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps^o of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; 10 or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, and not for flags^o and pedigree. We see the Switzers^o last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion, and of cantons,^o for utility is their bond, and not respects.^o The United Provinces of the 15 Low Countries in their government excel: for where there is an equality, the consultations are more indifferent,^o and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and 20 putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth^o their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice, and yet maintained in that height as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon 25 the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a sur-

charge of expense ; and, besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

5 As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect ; how much more to behold an ancient and noble family which hath stood against the waves and
10 weathers of time. For new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous,^o but less innocent, than their descendants, for there is rarely any rising but by a commix-
15 ture^o of good and evil arts ; but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry, and he that is not industrious envieth him that is. Besides noble persons
20 cannot go much higher ; and he that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy.^o On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that
25 have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business ; for people naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars^o of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the *equinoctia*.^o And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind, and secret swellings of seas, before a tempest, so are there in states:

“ Ille etiam^o cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monit, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.”

Libels and licentious^o discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open, and in like sort ¹⁰ false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame,^o saith she was sister to the giants:

“ Illam Terra^o parens, ira irritata Deorum, 15
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progeniuit.”

As if fumes were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious ²⁰ tumults and seditious fumes differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible,^o and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense and ²⁵ traduced; for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus^o

saith, "Conflata^o magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt." Neither doth it follow that because these fumes are a sign of troubles, that^o the suppressing of them with too much severity should
 5 be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of is to be held suspected: "Erant^o in officio, sed tamen
 10 qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi." Disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay^o of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction
 15 speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel^o noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents,^o make themselves as a party and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is
 20 overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry III. of France: for first himself entered league^o for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself. For when the au-
 25 thority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions,
 30 are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the

reverence of^o government is lost. For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *primum mobile*,^o according to the old opinion, which is that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion,⁵ and softly in their own motion. And therefore when great ones in their own particular motion^o move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, "liberius,^o quam ut imperantium meminissent," it is a sign the orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that where-¹⁰ with princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof: "Solvam^o cingula regum."

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray¹⁵ for fair weather. But let us pass from this part^o of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions; then of the motives of them; and thirdly of the remedies.²⁰

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions, if the times do bear it,^o is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall²⁵ set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds: much poverty, and much discontentment. It^o is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan^o noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

"Hinc usura^o vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."

This same "multis utile bellum" is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great; for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours^o in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat, and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this,^o whether they be just or unjust, for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small, for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "Dolendi^o modus, timendi non item." Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the passions do withal mate^o the courage; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued; for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, "The cord^o breaketh at the last by the weakest pull."

30 The causes and motives of seditions are innovation

in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak; as for the just^e cure, it must answer to the particular disease, and so be left to counsel rather than rule. 10

The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is want and poverty in the estate. To which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade, the cherishing of manufactures, 15 the banishing of idleness, the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws,^o the improvement and husbanding of the soil, the regulating of prices of things vendible, the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally it is to be foreseen that the 20 population of a kingdom, especially if it be not mown down by wars, do not exceed the stock^e of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do 25 wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more. Therefore, the multiplying of nobility and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity^o; and so doth 30

likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock; and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments^o can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered that, forasmuch
 5 as the increase of any estate^o must be upon the foreigner^o (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another: the commodity as nature yieldeth it, the manufacture, and the vecture^o or
 10 carriage. So that if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass that "*materiam^o superabit opus,*" that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more; as is notably
 15 seen in the Low-Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground^o in the world.

Above all things good policy is to be used, that the treasure and moneys in a state be not gathered into few hands; for otherwise a state may have a great
 20 stock, and yet starve. And money is like muck,^o not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait^o hand upon the devouring trades of usury,^o engrossing,^o great pasturages,^o and the like.

25 For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them, there is in every state, as we know, two portions of subjects, the noblesse^o and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow
 30 motion if they be not excited by the greater sort;

and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. 5 The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter°; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas° sent for Briareus° with his hundred hands to come in to his aid. An emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the 10 good-will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate, so it be without too great insolency or bravery,° is a safe way; for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed 15 inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.°

The part of Epimetheus° mought° well become Prometheus° in the case of discontentments; for there is not a better provision against them. Epi- 20 metheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly the politic and artificial° nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes 25 against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so 30

peremptory° but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave° that which they believe
 5 not.

Also the foresight and prevention that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known but an excellent point of caution. I under-
 10 stand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation; that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes; and that is thought discontented in his own particular: which kind of persons are either to be won
 15 and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted° with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to
 20 the state, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust, amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case if those that hold with the proceedings of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be
 25 entire and united.

I have noted that some witty and sharp speeches which have fallen from princes have given fire to seditions. Caesar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, "*Sylla° nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;*"
 30 for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had

entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba^o undid himself by that speech, "Legi^o a se militem, non emi," for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative.^o Probus^o likewise by that speech, "Si vixero,^o non opus erit 5 amplius Romano imperio militibus," a speech of great despair for the soldiers. And many the like. Surely, princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say; especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts and are thought 10 to be shot out of their secret intentions. For as for large discourses, they are flat^o things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one, or rather more, of mili- 15 tary valour near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth^o to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit. And the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus 20 saith: "Atque is^o habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur." But let such military persons be assured and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular^o; holding also good correspondence^o with the other 25 great men in the state; or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI. OF ATHEISM

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the Legend,^o and the Talmud,^o and the Alcoran,^o than that this universal frame is without a mind. And therefore God never wrought miracle to convince^o atheism, 5 because his ordinary works convince it. It is true that a little philosophy^o inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes^o scattered, it may some- 10 times rest in them and go no further: but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion: that is, the school 15 of Leucippus,^o and Democritus,^o and Epicurus.^o For it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence,^o duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds,^o unplaced,^o 20 should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal.

The Scripture^o saith, "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." It is not said, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" so as he rather saith it 25 by rote to himself, as that^o he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those for whom it

maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it^o within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others. Nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein, they say, he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: "Non deos^o vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones diis applicare profanum." Plato^o could have said no more. And although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature.^o The Indians of the West have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter,^o Apollo,^o Mars,^o &c., but not the word *Deus*; which shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages take part with the very

subtilest philosophers. The contemplative° atheist is rare — a Diagoras,° a Bion,° a Lucian° perhaps, and some others — and yet they seem to be more than they are, for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists, indeed, are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.

- 10 The causes of atheism are: divisions in religion, if they be many, for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism. Another is scandal of priests,° when it is come to that which St. Bernard° saith, “Non est°
 15 jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos.” A third is custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion. And, lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity;
 20 for troubles and adversities do more bow men’s minds to religion.°

They that deny a God destroy man’s nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body, and if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a
 25 base and ignoble creature.° It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature. For take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man,° who to him is instead
 30 of a God, or *melior natura*°; which courage is mani-

festly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain. 5 Therefore as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations. Never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome; of this state 10 near what Cicero^s saith: "*Quam volumus^o licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terre domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et* 15 *Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*"

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION

It were better to have no opinion of God at all 20 than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely.^o And certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch^o saith well to that purpose: "Surely," saith he, "I had rather a great men should say 25 there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that

they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born,⁸ as the poets speak of Saturn.⁹ And as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater
 5 towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not. But superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the
 10 minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states, for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further. And we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar⁶) were civil¹⁰ times. But superstition hath been the con-
 15 fusion of many states, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile*¹⁰ that ravisheth¹⁰ all the spheres of government.

The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools, and arguments are fitted to practise in a reversed order.¹¹ It was
 20 gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent,¹⁰ where the doctrine of the schoolmen¹¹ bore great sway, "that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles,¹² and such engines of orbs,¹⁰ to save the phenomena, though
 25 they knew there were no such things;"¹³ and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtile and intricate axioms and theorems to save the practice of the Church.

The causes¹⁰ of superstition are: pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and

pharisaical holiness; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the Church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and 'lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters.

Superstition without a veil is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. 15

There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received. Therefore care would be had that, as it fareth in ill purgings, the good be not taken away with the bad; which commonly is done when the people is the reformer. 20

XVIII. OF TRAVEL

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor or grave

servant, I allow^o well; so that he be such a one that hath the language and hath been in the country before, whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where
 5 they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth. For else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little.

It is a strange thing that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men
 10 should make diaries^o; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Let diaries therefore be brought in use.

The things to be seen and observed are: the
 15 courts of princes, specially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories^o ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications
 20 of cities and towns, and so the havens and harbours; antiquities and ruins; libraries, colleges, disputations,^o and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure near great cities; armouries, arsenals, magazines, exchanges,
 25 burses,^o warehouses; exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like; comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes, cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the
 30 places where they go: after all which the tutors or

servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masques, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected.

If you will have a young man to put his travels into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth. Then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry ¹⁰ with him also some card^o or book describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town; more or less as the place deserveth, but not long. Nay, when he stayeth ¹⁵ in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant^o of acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet^o in such places where there is good company ²⁰ of the nation where he travelleth. Let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. ²⁵ Thus he may abridge his travel with much profit.^o

As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country &

he shall suck the experience° of many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life° agreeth with the fame. For quarrels, 5 they are with care and discretion to be avoided. They are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words. And let a man beware how he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When 10 a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than 15 in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised° in his answers than forwards to tell stories.° And let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts, but only prick in° some flowers of that he hath 20 learned abroad, into the customs of his own country.

XIX. OF EMPIRE

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings, who, being at the highest, want matter of desire,° which makes their 25 minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their

minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture^o speaketh of, "that the king's heart is inscrutable." For multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest,⁵ maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes, likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys^o: sometimes upon a building, sometimes upon erecting of an order,^o sometimes upon the advancing¹⁰ of a person, sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art or feat of the hand, — as Nero^o for playing on the harp, Domitian^o for certainty of the hand with the arrow, Commodus^o for playing at fence, Caracalla^o for driving chariots, and the like. This¹⁵ seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years,²⁰ it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great,^o Diocletian,^o and in our memory Charles V.,^o²⁵ and others; for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.^o

To speak now of the true temper^o of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and³⁰

distemper° consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius° to Vespasian° is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, "What
 5 was Nero's overthrow?" He answered, "Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low." And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as
 10 the unequal and untimely interchange° of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times, in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries,° and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs when they
 15 are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may
 20 come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes, saith Tacitus,° to will contradictories. "Sunt ple-
 rumque° regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se
 25 contrariæ." For it is the solecism° of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.°

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their mer-
 30 chants, their commons, and their men of war; and

from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First for their neighbours, there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one, which ever holdeth: which is, that princes do keep a due sentinel that none of their neighbours do overgrow so, by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like, as they become more able to annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing councils, to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry VIII. of England, Francis I., King of France, and Charles V., Emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or if need were by a war, and would not in any wise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league, which, Guicciardine saith, was the security of Italy, made between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made but upon a precedent injury or provocation: for there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solymans wife, was the destruction of that

renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha,^o and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward II. of England his queen^o had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind
 5 of danger is then to be feared chiefly, when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children; or else that they be advoutresses.^o

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally, the en-
 10 tering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha, that we named before, was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks, from Solyman until this day, is suspected to be untrue,
 15 and of strange blood; for that Selymus II. was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus,^o a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great,^o his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus
 20 and Constans, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus^o had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius,^o son to Philip II. of Macedon, turned upon
 25 the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus I.^o against Bajazet,^o and the three
 30 sons^o of Henry II., King of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them, as it was in the times of Anselmus^o and Thomas Becket.^o Archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers^o did almost try it^o with the king's sword: and yet they⁵ had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry I., and Henry II. The danger is not from that state,^o but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority^o; or where the Churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the collation of the king or¹⁰ particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress^o them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my¹⁵ "History of King Henry VII. of England," who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles, for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his²⁰ business. So that in effect he was fain^o to do all things himself.

For their second nobles, there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt;²⁵ besides they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they^o grow not too potent; and lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are *vena porta*^o; and if³⁰

they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts^o upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue, for that that he wins in the hundred he loses^o in the shire^o; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent
10 heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives; whereof we see examples in the janizaries,^o
15 and pretorian bands^o of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several^o places and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause
20 good or evil times, and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances: "Memento quod es homo,"^o and "Memento quod es Deus,"^o or "vice Dei";^o the one bridles their power,
25 and the other their will.

XX. OF COUNSEL

THE greatest trust^o between man and man is the
30 trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences,

men commit the parts of life; their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, "the Counsellor." Solomon^o hath pronounced that 10 "in counsel is stability." Things will have their first or second agitation^o; if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. 15 Solomon's son^o found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is 20 for ever best discerned: that it was young^o counsel for the persons; and violent counsel for the matter.^o

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel 25 by kings; the one, in that they say Jupiter^o did marry Metis,^o which signifieth counsel, whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived 30

by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but ate her up, whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas^o armed, out of his head. Which
 5 monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how kings are to make use of their council of state. That, first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded and shaped in the womb of
 10 their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world
 15 that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled^o to Pallas armed), proceeded from themselves, and not only from their authority, but, the more to add reputation to themselves, from their
 20 head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become
 25 less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences the
 30 doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some

kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils,° — a remedy worse than the disease.°

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select.° Neither is it necessary that 5 he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto: "Plenus° rimarum sum;" one futile° person, 10 that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true, there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels 15 unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction, without distraction. But then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill°; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise 20 men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with King Henry VII. of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton° and Fox.°

For weakening of authority, the fable showeth 25 the remedy. Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished, when they are in the chair of counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies° by his counsel, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one coun- 30

seller, or an over-strict combination in divers;
which are things soon found and holpen.^o

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel
with an eye to themselves, certainly "Non inveniet^o
5 *fidem super terram*" is meant of the nature of times,
and not of all particular persons. There be that are
in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct,
not crafty and involved; let princes above all draw
to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors
10 are not commonly so united but that one counsellor
keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do
counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly
comes to the king's ear. But the best remedy is,
if princes know their counsellors, as well as their
15 counsellors know them:

"*Principis^o est virtus maxima nosse suos.*"

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too
speculative^o into their sovereign's person. The true
composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in
20 their^o master's business than in his nature^o; for then
he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour.
It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions
of their counsel both separately and together; for
private opinion is more free, but opinion before others
25 is more reverend. In private, men are more bold
in their own humours, and in consort, men are more
obnoxious^o to others' humours; therefore it is good
to take both: and of the inferior sort, rather in pri-
vate, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in

consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons.° Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons *secundum genera*,° as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, "Optimi° consilarii mortui;" books will speak plain when counsellors blanch.° Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day, in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that, in causes of weight, the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; "in nocte consilium."° So was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly.° I commend set days for petitions, for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*.° In choice of committees, for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent° persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. - I commend also standing° commissions; at

as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces^o; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing
5 commissions, save that they have greater authority.

Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen,^o and the like), be first heard before committees, and then, as occasion serves, before the council. And let
10 them not come in multitudes or in a tribunitious^o manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance: for at a long table a few at the upper
15 end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else coun-
20 sellors will but take the wind of him,^o and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*.^o

XXI. OF DELAYS

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's^o offer, which at first
25 offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still^o holdeth up the price. For "occa-

sion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken;" or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light if they once seem light, and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half-way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on, by over-early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion, as we said, must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus^o with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus^o with his hundred hands. — first to watch and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto,^o which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel and celerity in the execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity: like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII. OF CUNNING

WE take cunning for a sinister or crooked wisdom. And certainly there is great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the
 5 cards^o and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that
 10 are not greatly capable of the real part of business; which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice^o than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley; turn them to new men and they have lost their
 15 aim; so as the old rule to know a fool from a wise man, "*Mitte^o ambos nudos ad ignotus, et videbis,*" doth scarce hold for them. And because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

20 It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits^o give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would^o be done with a demure abashing of your
 25 eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse

the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary^o that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she mought the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved. 10

If a man would cross^o a business that he doubts^o some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was 15 about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question than if you 20 offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont, to the end to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change; as Nehemiah^o did, "And I had not before that time been sad before 25 the king."

In things that are tender and unpleasant it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as-by chance, so that he may be asked these

question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus^o did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, "The world says," or, "There is a speech abroad."

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, 10 as if it had been a bye-matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most, and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

15 Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them; and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be apposed^r 20 of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I 25 knew two^o that were competitors for the secretary's place in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter^o between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said that to be a secretary in the declination of 30 a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not

affect it; the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen, who, hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it so ill as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning which we in England call, "The turning of the cat^o in the pan;" which is, when that which a man saith to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. And to say truth it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have to glance and dart at others, by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, "This I do not," as Tigellinus^o did towards Burrhus^o: "*Se non^o diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*"

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories as there is nothing they would insinuate but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard,^o and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point in cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions, for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far

about they will fetch,° and how many other matters they will beat over, to come near it. It is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth
 5 many times surprise a man, and lay him open.°
 Like to him that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's,° another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straight-ways he looked back.

10 But these small wares° and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts°
 15 and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main° of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses° in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters.
 20 And yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and, as we now say, putting tricks upon them, than upon soundness of their own proceedings. But Solomon°
 25 saith, "Prudens° advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos."

XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF

AN ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd^o thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society, and be so true to thyself as thou be not 5 false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth.^o For that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which 10 they benefit.

The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate 15 evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh^o them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric^o to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let princes or states choose such servants 20 as have not this mark, except they mean their service should be made but the accessory.

That which maketh the effect more pernicious is that all proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before 25 the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against

a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias^o upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and
 5 envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune, but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly
 10 it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs², and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they
 15 will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger
 20 who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which, as Cicero^o says of Pompey,^o are "*sui amantes^o sine rivali*," are many times unfor-
 25 tunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS

As the births^o of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time. Yet, notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first prece-⁵ dent, if it be good, is seldom attained by imitation. For ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted,^o hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will¹⁰ not apply new remedies must expect new evils. For time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course^o alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end?¹⁵

It is true that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit.^o And those things which have long gone together are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well, but though they help by their util-²⁰ ity, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured. All this is true if time stood still, which contrariwise moveth so round that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innova-²⁵ tion; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new.

It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived. For otherwise, **5** whatsoever is new is unlooked for, and ever it mends some and pairs^o others; and he that is holpen^o takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author.

It is good also not to try experiments in states, **10** except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth^o the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held **15** for a suspect^o; and, as the Scripture^o saith, "that we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it."

XXV. OF DISPATCH

AFFECTED^o dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races^o it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed, so in

business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time^o; or to contrive some false periods^o of business, because^o they may seem men of dispatch.⁵ But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and business so handled at severat sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man^o that had it for a byword, when he saw¹⁰ men hasten to a conclusion. "Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner."

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand^o where¹⁵ there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: "Mi venga la muerte de Spagna," let my death come from Spain^o; for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first in-²⁰formation in business, and rather direct them in the beginning than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious, while he waits upon his memory, than he²⁵ could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator^o is more troublesome than the actor.^o

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such-gain of time as to iterate often the state³⁰

of the question, for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious^o speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces, and passages,^o 5 and excusations,^o and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery.^o Yet beware of being too material^o when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for pre- 10 occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent^o enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch, so as the distribution be not too subtle; for he that doth 15 not divide will never enter well into business, and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business: the preparation, the debate 20 or examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; for though 25 it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction^o than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE

It hath been an opinion that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For as the Apostle^o saith of godliness, "having a show of 5 godliness, but denying the power thereof," so certainly there are in point of wisdom and sufficiency that do nothing or little very solemnly, "*magno^o conatu nugas.*" It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what 10 shifts these formalists^o have, and what prospectives^o to make superficies to seem body that hath depth and bulk.

Some are so close and reserved as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem 15 always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are 20 wise by signs, as Cicero^o saith of Piso,^o that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead and bent the other down to his chin: "*Respondes,^o altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem 25 tibi non placere.*" Some think to bear it^o by speaking a great word and being peremptory,

and go on and take by admittance that which they cannot make good.^o Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it as impertinent or curious; and so would have their
 5 ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly, by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch^o the matter; of whom A. Gellius^o saith, "Hominem^o delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera." Of which kind also Plato^o
 10 in his "Protagoras"^o bringeth in Prodicus^o in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end.

Generally such men in all deliberations find ease to be^o of the negative side, and affect a credit to object
 15 and foretell difficulties. For when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work: which false point of wisdom is the bane of business.

To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or
 20 inward^o beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their^o wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion,^o but let no man choose them for employment: for certainly you
 25 were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP

It had been hard for him^o that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech. "Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a God." For it is most true that a natural and secret hatred and aversation^c towards society in any man hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester^o 16 a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen, as Epimenides^c the Candian, Numa^o the Roman, Empedocles^c the Sicilian, and Apollonius^o of Tyana: and truly and really in divers of the 18 ancient hermits and holy fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures,^o and talk but a tinkling cymbal,^o where there is no love. 20 The Latin adage meeteth with it a little, "*Magna civitas,^o magna solitudo;*" because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most 22 truly that it is a mere^o and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but

a wilderness. And even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

5 A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induoe. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body, and it is not
10 much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza^o to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flour of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain, but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend,^o to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes,
15 suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of
20 friendship whereof we speak; so great as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit except,
25 to make themselves capable thereof, they raise some persons to be, as it were, companions and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to^o inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites or privadoes,^o
30 as if it were matter of grace or conversation; but the

Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them "*participes curarum*,"^o for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned; who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

10

L. Sylla,^o when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey,^o after surnamed the Great, to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch. For when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla¹⁵ did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet, "for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting." With Julius Cæsar,^o Decimus Brutus^o had obtained that interest, as he²⁰ set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew. And this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and especially a dream²⁵ of Calpurnia,^o this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream. And it seemeth his favour was so great as Antonius,^o in a letter which is recited verbatim in³⁰

one of Cicero's Philippics. calleth him "venefica,^a witch, as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus^o raised Agrippa,^o though of mean birth, to that height as, when he consulted with Mæcenas^o about
5 the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, "That he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa or take away his life; there was no third way, he had made him so great." With Tiberius Cæsar,^c Sejanus^c had ascended to that
10 height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius in a letter to him saith: "Hæc pro^o amicitia nostra non occultavi;" and the whole senate dedicated an altar to friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship
15 between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus^o and Plautianus.^c For he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also in a letter to the senate
20 by these words: "I love the man so well as I wish he may over-live me." Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan,^o or a Marcus Aurelius,^c a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such
25 strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity, though as great as ever happened to mortal men, but as a half-piece, except they mought have a friend to make
30 it entire. And yet, which is more, they were princes

which had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus^o observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy^o; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none, and ⁵ least of all those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith that towards his latter time "that closeness did impair, and a little perish his understanding." Surely Comineus mought have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased ¹⁰ him, of his second master, Louis XI., whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras^o is dark but true: "Cor ne edito," eat not the heart. Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves ¹⁵ unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable^r (wherewith I will conclude this first-fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects: for it redoubleth joys, and ²⁰ cutteth griefs in halves. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue ²⁵ as the alchemists used to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet, without praying in aid^o of alchemists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. ³⁰

For in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action, and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression: and even so is it of minds.

5 The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests; but it maketh daylight in the understanding out of
10 darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and under-
15 standing do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another: he tosseth his thoughts more easily, he marshalleth them more orderly, he seeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself, and that more
20 by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles^o to the King of Persia, "That speech was like cloth of Arras,^o opened and put abroad,^o whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in
25 packs." Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel; they indeed are best, but even without that, a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and
30 whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself

cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statua^o or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open,⁵ and falleth within vulgar observation: which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus^o saith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry^o light is ever the best." And certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another is drier and purer¹⁰ than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment, which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between¹⁵ the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self; and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts: the one concerning manners, the other concerning²⁰ business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometime too piercing and corrosive. Reading good books of morality is a little flat^o and²⁵ dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes unproper for our case. But the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many, espe-³⁰

cially of the greater sort, do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them; to the great damage both of their fame and fortune. For, as St. James^o saith, they are as men "that look sometimes into
5 a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour." As for business, a man may think if he will that two eyes see no more than one; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath
10 said over the four-and-twenty letters: or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond^o and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done,^o the help of good counsel is that which setteth business
15 straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all), but he runneth
20 two dangers. One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled: for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends^o which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he
25 shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, though with good meaning, and mixt partly of mischief and partly of remedy. Even as if you would call a physician that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body;
30 and therefore may put you in way for a present cure,

out overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient.^o But a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware by furthering any present business how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And, ⁵ therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels^o; they will rather distract and mislead than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment) ¹⁰ followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels: I mean aid, and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here, the best way to represent to life³ the manifold use of friendship, is to cast² and see how many things there are which ¹⁵ a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, "That a friend is another himself;"^o for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time,^o and die many times in desire of some things which they ²⁰ principally take to heart, -- the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him. So that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man ²⁵ hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy, for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, ³⁰

say or do himself ! A man can scarce allege^o his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful
 5 in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper^o relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son, but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms^o; whereas a
 10 friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless. I have given the rule where a man cannot fitly play his own part^o: if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. OF EXPENSE

15 RICHES are for spending, and spending^o for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing^o may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense
 20 ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard as it be within his compass, and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants,^o and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep
 25 but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to

wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting^o to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds^s cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it be-¹⁰ hoveth him to turn all to certainties.^o A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall,^o to be saving in the stable; and the like.¹⁵ For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well^o hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest.²⁰ Besides, he that clears at once will relapse, for finding himself out of straits he will revert to his customs^o, but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair may²⁵ not despise small things; and commonly it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges which, once begun, will continue; but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.³⁰

XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES

THE speech of Themistocles,^o the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure,^o applied at large to others. Desired at a
5 feast to touch a lute, he said he could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city. These words, holpen^o a little with a metaphor,^o may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For if a true survey be taken of
10 counsellors and statesmen, there may be found, though rarely, those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle; as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small
15 state great, as their gift^o lieth the other way, — to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And certainly those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the
20 vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are, also, no doubt, counsellors and governors which
25 may be held sufficient, *negotiis pares*,^o able to manage^o affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest

inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work: that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof; an argument^o fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand, to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces they lose themselves in vain enterprises; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillani-
mous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory doth fall under^c measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards^o and maps. But yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error, than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed^o; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armouries, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like: all this is but a sheep in a

lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the
 people be stout^o and warlike. Nay, number itself,
 in armies, importeth not much where the people is of
 weak courage; for, as Virgil^o saith, it never troubles
 5 a wolf how many the sheep be. The army of the
 Persians, in the plains of Arbela,^o was such a vast
 sea of people as it did somewhat astonish the com-
 manders in Alexander's^o army; who came to him,
 therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night;
 10 but he answered, he would not pilfer the victory;
 and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes,^o the
 Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four
 hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the
 Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, march-
 15 ing towards him, he made himself merry with it,
 and said, "Yonder men are too many for an am-
 bassage, and too few for a fight." But before the sun
 set he found them enough to give him the chase with
 infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the
 20 great odds between number and courage: so that a
 man may truly make a judgment, that the principal
 point of greatness in any state is to have a race of
 military men. Neither is money the sinews of war,
 as it is trivially^o said, where the sinews of men's arms,
 25 in base and effeminate people, are failing; for Solon^o
 said well to Croesus,^o when in ostentation he showed
 him his gold: "Sir, if any other come that hath
 better iron than you, he will be master of all this
 gold." Therefore let any prince or state think
 30 soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives

be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength; unless they° be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces, which is the help in this case, 5 all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew° them soon after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar° will never meet, that the same people or nation should be both 10 the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens: neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes levied by consent of the estate do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the ex- 15 cises° of the Low Countries, and, in some degree, in the subsidies° of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse. So that, although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it 20 works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen° do multiply too fast; for 25 that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice° woods, if you leave your staddles° too thick you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs 30

and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll^o will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army: and so there will be great population, and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France: whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been, nevertheless, an overmatch; in regard^o the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of King Henry VII. (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable, in making farms, and houses of husbandry, of a standard: that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

“Terra^o potens armis, atque ubere glebæ.”

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over: I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen; which are noways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms. And therefore, out of all question, the splendour and

magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen, received into custom, doth much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces. 5

By all means it is to be procured that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree^o of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that 10 they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, — it may hold for a 15 time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice^o people in point of naturalization: whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becomen^o too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon 20 the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted^o with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization, which they called 25 "jus civitatis,"^o and to grant it in the highest degree: that is, not only "jus commercii,"^o jus connubii, jus hereditatis," but also "jus suffragii,"^o and "jus honorum";^o and this not to singular^o persons alone, but likewise to whole families, yea, to cities, and 30

sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies,^o whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and putting both constitutions^o together, you will say
 5 that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions, with so few
 10 natural Spaniards; but sure, the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree,^o far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it: that is, to employ,
 15 almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers, yea, and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the Pragmatical Sanction,^o now published, appeareth.

20 It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures that require rather the finger than the arm, have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than
 25 travail; neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage^o in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid^o those manufactures;
 30 but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian

law. That which cometh nearest to it, is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives° within those three kinds: tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, etc.; not reckoning professed soldiers.

But above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations° towards arms, and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus,° after his death, as they report or feign, sent a present° to the Romans, that above all they should intend° arms; and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly, though not wisely, framed and composed to that scope° and end. The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash.° The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination.° Of Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards. But it is so plain that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon.° It is enough to point at it, that no nation which doth not directly profess arms may look to have greatness fall into their° mouths. And on the other side, it is a most

certain oracle of time^o that those states that continue long in that profession, as the Romans and Turks principally have done, do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age, which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them
 10 just occasions, as may be pretended,^o of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men that they enter not upon wars, whereof so many calamities do ensue, but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels.^o The Turk hath at
 15 hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, — a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested
 20 upon that alone to begin a war. First, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let
 25 them be prest^o and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates,^o as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch as, if the confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states, and upon invasion offered did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans
 30 would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other

to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate,^o I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or when the Lace-⁵ dæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies; or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like.¹⁰ Let it suffice that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic^o; and certainly, to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true¹⁵ exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace both courages will effeminate^o and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness,²⁰ without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still^o for the most part in arms: and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable^o business) always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law,^o or at least the reputation amongst all neighbour²⁵ states; as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had in one part or other a veteran army almost continually now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy.^o Cicero,^o writing to Atticus^o of Pompey^o ³⁰

his preparation against Cæsar,^o saith: "Consilium^o Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri." And without doubt Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain
 5 confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium^o decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto^o arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea fights have been final
 10 to the war^o; but this is when princes or states have set up their rest^o upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will^o; whereas those that be strongest by land
 15 are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great: both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely^c
 20 inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark
 25 in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now for martial encouragement some degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and
 30 some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon; and

some hospitals for maimed soldiers; and such-like things. But in ancient times the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal^o; the style^o of 5 emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs^o of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, — were things able to inflame all men's courages. But, above all, that of 10 the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants or gaudery,^o but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things: honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army. But that 15 honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate^o the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did 20 achieve in person; and left only, for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns^o to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care-taking, as the Scripture^o saith, add a cubit to his stature in this 25 little model^o of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs as we have now touched, 31

they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX. OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of
 5 physick; a man's own observation, what he finds
 good of and what he finds hurt of, is the best physick
 to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to
 say, "This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will
 not continue it." than this, "I find no offence of this,
 10 therefore I may use it." For strength of nature in
 youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a
 man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years,
 and think not to do the same things still^o; for age
 will not be defied.^o Beware of sudden change in
 15 any great point of diet, and if necessity enforce it,
 fit the rest to it; for it is a secret, both in nature and
 state, that it is safer to change many things than
 one.^o Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise,
 apparel, and the like, and try in anything thou shalt
 20 judge hurtful to discontinue it by little and little;
 but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the
 change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to
 distinguish that which is generally held good and
 wholesome, from that which is good particularly.^o
 25 and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and
 cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep and

of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy,^o anxious fears, anger fretting inwards, subtilt and knotty inquisitions, joys and accelerations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain^s hopes; mirth rather than joy, variety of delights rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly¹⁰ physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic,¹⁵ except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more and trouble it less. Despise no new accident^o in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness respect^o health principally, and in health action^o; for those that put^o their bodies to endure²⁰ in health may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering.^o Cel-sus^o could never have spoken it as a physician had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting that a man²⁵ do vary and interchange contraries; but with an inclination to the more benign extreme. Use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise; and the like. So shall nature be³⁰

cherished, and yet taught masteries.^o Physicians are some of them so pleasing^o and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art^o for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI. OF SUSPICION

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, — they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded^o; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check^o with business, whereby business cannot go on currently^o and constantly; they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects not in the heart,^o but in the brain, for they take place in the stoutest^o natures; as in the example of Henry VII. of England, — there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout. And in such a composition^o they do small hurt, for commonly they are not admitted but with examination, whether they be likely or no; but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more

than to know little; and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have^o? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false; for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt.

Suspicious that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes^o; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he^o suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before, and withal shall make that party more circumspect not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would^o not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, "Sospetto^o licencia fede," as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII. OF DISCOURSE

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said,^o and not what should be thought. Some have certain common-places and themes^o wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous.

The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion, and again to moderate,^o and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance.^o It is good in discourse and speech of conversation to vary and intermingle^o speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest; for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade^o anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged^o from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity.^o Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant and to the quick. That is a vein which would^o be bridled:

25

“Parce,^o puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris.”

And generally men ought to find the difference between saltness^o and bitterness. Certainly, he that

hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.

He that questioneth much shall learn much and content^o much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill^o of the persons whom he asketh,⁵ for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser.^o And let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay,¹⁰ if there be any that would reign, and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off and bring others on; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards.^o

If you dissemble^o sometimes your knowledge of¹⁵ that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not.

Speech of^o a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, "He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of him-²⁰ self." And there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth.

Speech of touch^o towards others should be spar-²⁵ ingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's³⁰

table, "Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow^o given?" To which the guest would answer, such and such a thing passed. The lord would say "I thought he would mar a good dinner."

5 Discretion of speech is more than eloquence, and to speak agreeably^o to him with whom we deal is more than to speak in good words or in good order. A good continued speech,^o without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness; and a good reply, or
 10 second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turn, as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances^o ere
 15 one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS

PLANTATIONS^o are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children, but now it is old it begets fewer; for
 20 I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms.

I like a plantation in a pure soil, — that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation.
 25 Planting of countries is like planting of woods, for
 30 you must make account to lose almost twenty year^o

profit, and expect your recompense in the end; for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit^o in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further.

It is a shameful and unblest thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation: for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify^o over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labour-ers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers.

In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself^o to hand: as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent^o things there are, which grow speedily and within the year: as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize,^o and the like. For wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise

cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases and multiply fastest: as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like.

The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town, — that is, with certain^o allowance. And let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn be to a common stock, and to be laid in and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure^o for his own private.^o

Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia.^o Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore timber is fit to be one.^o If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave^o commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would^o be put in experience. Growing silk^o likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit; soap-ashes, likewise, and other

things that may be thought of. But moil^o not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things.

For government, let it be in the hands of one,⁵ assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always and his service before their eyes. Let not the govern-¹⁰ment of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers^o in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain. 15

Let there be freedoms from custom^o till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them,^o except there be some special cause of caution. 20

Cram not in people by sending too fast company after company, but rather hearken how they waste,^o and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge^o be in penury. 25

It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish^o and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still^o rather as

upwards from the streams than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary.

15 If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles,^o but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard, nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not
20 amiss.^o And send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return.

When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men, that
25 the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfulness thing in the world to forsake or destitute^o a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable^o
30 persons.

XXXIV. OF RICHES

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue. The Roman word is better, "impedimenta,^o" for as the baggage is to an army so is riches to virtue. It cannot be spared, nor left behind, but it hindereth
35 the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory.

40 Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in

the distribution; the rest is but conceit.^o So saith Solomon,^o "Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?" The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches^o; there is a custody of them, or a power of dole and donative of them, or a fame of them, but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned^o prices are set upon little stones and rarities? And what works of ostentation are undertaken, because^o there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then, you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles. As Solomon^o saith, "Riches are as a stronghold in the imagination of the rich man." But this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination,¹⁸ and not always in fact. For certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out.

Seek not proud riches,^o but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract nor frigidly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero^o saith well of Rabirius Posthumus,^o "*in studio^o rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri.*" Hearken also to Solomon,^o and beware of hasty gathering of riches:²⁰ "Qui festinat^o ad divitas, non erit insons." The poets feign that when Plutus,^o which is riches, is sent from Jupiter,^o he limps, and goes slowly, but when he is sent from Pluto,^o he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means are

and just labour pace slowly, but when they come by the death of others, as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like, they come tumbling upon a man. But it mought be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil. For when riches come from the devil, as by fraud, and oppression, and unjust means, they come upon speed.°

The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent, for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches, for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow. And yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greatest audits of any man° in my time: a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber-man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him, in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches. For when a man's stock° is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome° those bargains which, for their greatness, are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly.°

20 The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are

honest, and furthered by two things chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity; broke^o by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen^o; and the like practices, which are crafty and naught.^o As for the chopping of bargains, — when a man buys, not to hold, but to sell over again, — that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer.^o Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury^o is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread “in sudore^o vultus alieni,” and besides, doth plough upon Sundays. But yet, certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers^o do value^o unsound men, to serve their own turn.

The fortune in being the first in an invention,^o or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches, as it was with the first sugar-man in the Canaries.^o Therefore, if a man can play the true logician,^o to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit. He that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break, and come to poverty: it is good therefore to guard^o adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption^o of wares for resale, where they are

not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and to store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus^o saith of Seneca,^o "Testamenta^o et orbos tanquam indagine capi"), it is yet worse; by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service.

Believe not much them that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse^o when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings,^o and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more.

Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great estate left to an heir is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better^o stablished in years and judgment. Likewise glorious^o gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thine advancements^o by quantity, but frame them by measure.^o And defer not charities till death^o; for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

XXXV. OF PROPHECIES

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions,^o but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa^o to Saul, "To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me." Homer^o hath these verses:

"At domus^o *Æneæ* cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:"

a prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman Empire. Seneca,^o the tragedian, hath these verses: 10

"Venient annis^o
Secula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule:" 15

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polyocrates^o dreamed that Jupiter^o bathed her father, and Apollo^o anointed him: and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly, whereby he did expound it that his wife should be barren; but Aristander^o the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm^o that appeared to M. Brutus,^o in his

tent, said to him, "Philippis^o iterum me videbis." Tiberius^o said to Galba,^o "Tu quoque,^o Galba, degustabis imperium." In Vespasian's^o time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should
 5 come forth of Judea should reign over the world; which, though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus^o expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian^o dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and
 10 indeed the succession that followed him for many years made golden times. Henry VI.^o of England said of Henry VII., when he was a lad, and gave him water, "This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive." When I was in France, I
 15 heard from one Dr. Pena that the queen-mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name, and the astrologer gave a judgment that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed,
 20 thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels; but he was slain^o upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver.^o The trivial^o prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her
 25 years, was:

"When Hempe is sponne,
 England's done;"

whereby it was generally conceived that, after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters
 30 of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward,

Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name, for that the king's style^o is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of **s** eighty-eight, which I do not well understand:

“There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,^o
The black fleet of Norway.
When that is come and gone,
England, build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.”

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight; for that the King of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The **15** prediction of Regiomontanus,^o

“Octogesimus^o octavus mirabilis annus,”

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon **20** the sea. As for Cleon's^o dream, I think it was a jest: it was that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind, especially if you include dreams and **25** predictions of astrology. But I have set down these few only, of certain credit, for example.

My judgment is that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fire-

side. Though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort^o to be despised, for they have done much mischief, and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace,^o and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit,^o and never mark when they miss, as they do generally also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect; as that of Seneca's verse. For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which mought be probably conceived not to be all sea; and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's^o Timæus and his Atlanticus,^o it mought encourage one to turn it to a prediotion. The third and last, which is the great one, is that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event past.

XXXVI. OF AMBITION

AMBITION is like choler^o; which is an humour^o that maketh man active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped,

and cannot have his way, it becometh acrid,^o and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still^o get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye,^o and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service they will take order to^o make their service fall with them.

15

But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with^o the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition^o is to pull off his spurs.^o There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled^o dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius^o used Macro^o in the pulling down of Sejanus.^o

Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, 20

there resteth^o to speak how they are to be bridled. that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites^o; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones. For when the way of
 10 pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors to keep things steady;
 15 for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least a prince may animate and inure^o some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious^o to ruin, if they be of fearful natures it may do well; but if
 20 they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs and prove dangerous.^o As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is the interchange continually of favours and
 25 disgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood.

Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in everything; for that breeds confusion, and mars
 30 business. But yet it is less danger to have an am-

bitious man stirring in business, than great in dependances.^o He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of an whole age. 8

Honour hath three things in it: the vantage ground to do good^o; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of^o duty than of rising; and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery^o; and let them discern a busy^o nature from a willing mind. 11

XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS

THESE things are but toys^o to come amongst such serious observations. But yet,^o since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost.^o 20

Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft,^o and accompanied with some broken music^o; and the ditty^o fitted to the device.^o Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace: 21 I say acting, not dancing^o (for that is a mean and

vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would^a be strong and manly (a bass and a tenor, no treble); and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty.^o Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches,^o anthem-wise,^o give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure^o is a childish curiosity. And generally let it be noted that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene,^o have some motions^o upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see^o that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings.^o Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that show best by candle-light are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and oes,^o or spangs,^o as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful and such as become the person when the vizars are off; not after examples of known attires — Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques^o not be

long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antiques,^o beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets,^o nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statuas^o moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and any-^s thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit. But, chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are in such a company as there is steam¹¹ and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety. But all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs,^o and tourneys,^o and barriers,^o the glories¹⁵ of them are chiefly in the chariots wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts, as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance; or in the bravery^o of their liveries; or in the goodly furniture²⁰ of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN

NATURE^o is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh²⁵ nature less importune^o; but custom only doth alter and subdue-nature.

He that seeketh victory over his nature let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And at the first let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great perfection, if the practice^o be harder than the use.

10 Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time, — like to him that would say over the four-and-twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity, — as if one should, in
15 forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and, lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

“Optimus ille^o animi vindex, lædentia pectus
20 Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.”

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice.

25 Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and

induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions.

But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay^o buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's^o damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end^o till a mouse ran before her. Therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it,^o that he may be little moved with it. 10

A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him.

They are happy men whose natures sort with^o 15 their vocations; otherwise they may say, "Multum^o incola fuit anima mea," when they converse in^o those things they do not affect.^o In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his 20 nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces^o of other business or studies will suffice.

A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy 21 the other.

XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION

MEN's thoughts are much according to their inclination^o; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions^o; but their deeds are after as^o they have been accustomed. And
 5 therefore, as Machiavel^o well noteth, though in an evil-favoured^o instance, there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery^o of words, except it be corroborate^o by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy a man
 10 should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings, but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement,^o nor a Ravallac,^o nor a Jaureguy,^o nor a Baltazar Gerard^o;
 15 yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced that men of the first blood^o are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary^o resolution is made equipollent^o to custom,
 20 even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before; as if they were dead images, and
 25 engines moved only by the wheels of custom.

We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians, I mean the sect^o of their wise

men, lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana without so much as queching.^o I remember in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel, condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a with, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels.¹⁰ There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged^o with hard ice.

Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body. Therefore, since custom¹⁵ is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years; this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages²⁰ the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply^o; except it be in some minds that have not suffered²⁵ themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare.

But if the force of custom simple and separate, be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined³⁰

and collegiate, is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth,^o emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation.^o Certainly the great
 5 multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now
 10 applied to the ends^o least to be desired.

XL. OF FORTUNE

It cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune: favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. "Faber^o
 15 quisque fortunæ suæ," saith the poet.^o And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. "Serpens^o nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco."

20 Overt and apparent^o virtues bring forth praise, but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries^o of a man's self which have no name. The Spanish name, *desemboltura*,^o partly expresseth them: when there be
 25 not stonds^o nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels

of his fortune. For so Livy,^o after he had described Cato Major^o in these words, "In illo viro,^o tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset fortunam sibi facturus videretur," falleth upon that, that he had *versatile ingenium*.^o Therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky, which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw it into his other conditions, that he hath "*poco di matto*."^o And, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate, neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way.

An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover^o (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant*); but the exercised^o fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him.

All wise men, to decline the envy^o of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them, and besides it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar^o said to the pilot in the tempest, "*Cæsarem portas,^o et fortunam ejus.*" So Sylla^o chose the name of *felix^o* and not of *magnus^o*; and it hath been noted that those that ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end
 10 infortunate. It is written that Timotheus,^o the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, "And in this fortune had no part." never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards.
 15 Certainly there be whose fortunes are like Homer's^o verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch^o saith of Timoleon's^o fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus^o or Epaminondas.^o And that this should be, no doubt
 20 it is much in a man's self.^o

XLI. OF USURY

MANY have made witty invectives against usury.^o They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe^o; that the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough^o goeth every
 25 Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil^o speaketh of:

* "*Ignavum^o fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent;*"

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was "In sudore° vultus tui comedes panem tuum," not "In sudore° vultus alieni;" that usurers should have orange-tawny° bonnets, because they do judaize°; that it is against nature for money to beget money; and the like. I say this only, that usury is a "concessum° propter duritiem cordis;" for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. 10 Some others have made suspicious° and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates,° and other inventions. But few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities° and commodities of usury, that the good may be 15 either weighed out or culled out; and warily to provide that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are:—First, that it makes fewer merchants. For were it not for this 20 lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandising, which is the *vena porta*° of wealth in a state. The second, that it makes poor merchants. For as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit° 25 at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well if he sit at great usury. The third is incident to the other two; and that is the decay of customs° of kings or states, which ebb or flow with merchandising. The fourth, that it bringeth these

treasure of a realm or state into a few hands. For the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when
 5 wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandising or purchasing,^o and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improve-
 10 ments, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug.^o The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates; which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are: —
 15 First, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandising, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants, upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in or keep back
 20 his money, there will ensue presently a great stand^o of trade. The second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means, be it lands or
 25 goods, far under foot^o; and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw^o upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take pawns without use,^o or if they do, they will
 30 look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a

cruel moneyed man in the country that would say, "The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate, or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.^o 10

To speak now of the reformation and reglement^o of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided and the commodities retained: it appears by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled. The one, 15 that the tooth of usury^o be grinded that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done except you introduce two several 20 sorts of usury, a less and a greater. For if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for^o money. And it is to be noted that the trade of merchandise, being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate; 25 other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury, the one free and general for all; the other under license only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchan- 30

dising. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred; and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take^o any penalty for the same.

- 5 This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country: this will in good part raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, 10 whereas this rate of interest yields but five; this, by like reason, will encourage and edge^o industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit.
- 15 Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following. Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for 20 by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant or whosoever. Let it be no bank, or common stock, but every man be master of his own money. Not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked in 25 regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered^o some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender. For he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the 30 hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred

than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandising; for then they will be hardly able to colour^o other men's³ moneys in the country; so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five. For no man will send his moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize¹⁰ usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration^o than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE

A MAN^o that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happen-¹⁵ eth rarely. Generally youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old; and imaginations stream into their minds²⁰ better, and, as it were, more divinely.

Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Cæsar^o and Septimius Severus,^o ²⁵ of the latter of whom it is said, "*Juventutem^o egit*

erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam." And yet^o he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar,^o Cosmus^o Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix,^o and others.

On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition^o for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for 10 settled business. For the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them, but in new things abuseth them.^o

The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, — 15 that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage^o of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles, 20 which they have chanced upon, absurdly; care not to^o innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first^o; and, that which doub-leth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready^o horse, that will neither stop nor turn. 25 Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period,^o but content themselves with a mediocrity of success.

Certainly it is good to compound employments 30 of both^o: for that will be good for the present, because

the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession,^o that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for extern^o accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity, youth. 5

But, for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain Rabbin^o upon the text, "Your young men^o shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," inferreth that young men are admitted 10 nearer to God^o than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And certainly the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. 15

There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes. These are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned; such as was Hermogenes,^o the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtile, who afterwards 20 waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech, which becomes youth well, but not age. So Tully^o saith of Hortensius,^o "Idem manebat,^o neque idem decebat." The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus;^o of whom Livy^o saith in effect, "Ultima^o primis cedebant." 25

XLIII. OF BEAUTY

VIRTUE° is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features, and that hath rather dignity of presence than beauty of aspect. Neither is it
 5 almost° seen that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if Nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit,° and study rather behaviour than virtue. But
 10 this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar,° Titus Vespasianus,° Philip le Bel of France,° Edward IV. of England,° Alcibiades of Athens,° Ismael the Sophy° of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that
 15 of favour° is more than that of colour°; and that of decent and gracious motion, more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express, — no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strange-
 20 ness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles° or Albert Dürer° were the more° trifler: whereof the one would° make a personage by geometrical proportions; the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make one excellent.
 25 Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them. Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but

he must do it by a kind of felicity, as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music, and not by rule. A man shall see faces that,° if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good, and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part° of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times° more amiable: "Pulchrorum° autumnus pulcher;" for no youth can be comely but by pardon,° and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. 10 Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly, again, if it light well,° it maketh virtues shine and vices blush. 15

XLIV. OF DEFORMITY

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part, as the Scripture saith, "void of natural affection;" and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent 20 between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one she ventureth in the other: "Ubi peccat° in uno, periclitatur in altero." But because° there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the 25 stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured

by the sun of discipline and virtue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign,^o which is more deceivable; but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect.

5 Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur^o in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold: first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to
10 scorn; but in process of time, by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors it quencheth jealousy towards them, as
15 persons that they think they may at pleasure despise; and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession. So that, upon the matter,^o in a great wit^o deformity
20 is an advantage to rising.

Kings in ancient times, and at this present in some countries, were wont to put great trust in eunuchs; because they that are envious towards all, are more obnoxious^o and officious^o towards one. But yet their
25 trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials^o and good whisperers than good magistrates and officers. And much like is the reason^o of deformed persons. Still^o the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which
30 must be either by virtue or malice. And, therefore,

let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent persons, as was Agesilaus,^o Zanger^o the son of Solyman,^o Æsop,^o Gasca^o President of Peru; and Socrates^o may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV. OF BUILDING

HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on^o; ⁸ therefore let use be preferred before uniformity,^o except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses for beauty only,^o to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat,^o ¹⁰ committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats, set upon a knap^o of ground, environed with higher hills round about it; whereby ¹⁵ the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs, so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways,^o ill markets, ²⁰ and, if you will consult with Momus,^o ill neighbours. I speak not of many more: want of water; want of wood, shade, and shelter; want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect; want of level grounds; want of places at ²⁵ some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking,

and races; too near the sea, too remote; having (not) the commodity^o of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or
 5 too near them, which lurcheth^o all provisions, and maketh everything dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scant^o; — all which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that
 10 a man may take as many as he can; and if he have several dwellings, that he sort^o them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus^o answered Pompey^o well, who, when he saw his stately galleries, and rooms so large and light-
 15 some,^o in one of his houses, said, "Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?" Lucullus answered, "Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?"

20 To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero^o doth in the orator's art, who writes books "De Oratore," and a book he entitles "Orator:" whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will
 25 therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof. For it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican^o and Escorial^o and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

30 First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect

palace, except you have two several^o sides: a side for the banquet,^o as is spoken of in the book of Hester^o; and a side for the household, — the one for feasts and triumphs,^o and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns,^o 5 but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower, in the midst of the front, that as it were joineth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the ban- 10 quet, in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, 15 with a partition between, both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the farther end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair. And under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy 20 kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories of eighteen foot high apiece, above the two wings; and a goodly leads^o upon the top, railed, with statues interposed^o; and the same tower to be divided into 25 rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel,^o and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point^o any 30

of the lower rooms for a dining-place of servants, for otherwise you shall^o have the servants' dinner after your own, for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel. And so much for the front. Only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front. And in all the four corners of that court, fair staircases cast into^o turrets on the outside,^o and not within the row of buildings themselves; but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter; but only some side alleys,^o with a cross,^o and the quarters to graze,^o being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries; in which galleries let there be three, or five, fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works. On the household side, chambers of presence^o and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers; and let all three sides be a double house,^o without through lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast^o it also that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one can-

not tell where to become^o to be out of the sun or cold. For embowed windows^o I hold them of good use (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street), for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they^s keep both the wind and sun off, for that which would strike almost through the room doth scarce pass the window. But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court let there be an inward court,¹⁰ of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story. On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto,¹⁵ or place of shade or estivation, and only have opening and windows towards the garden; and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statuas, in the midst of this court,²⁰ and to be paved^o as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee,^o that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with²⁵ chambers, bed-chamber, *antecamera*,^o and *recamera*,^o joining to it. This upon the second story. Upon the ground-story,^o a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story,^o likewise, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the³⁰

garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystal-line glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all
 5 other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery, too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances.^o And thus much for the model of the palace, save
 10 that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts: a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same,^o but more garnished, with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with
 15 the front, but not to be built,^o nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces, leaded aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance,
 20 with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI. OF GARDENS

God Almighty first planted a garden^o; and, indeed, it is the purest^o of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-
 25 works; and a man shall ever see that when ages grow to civility^o and elegancy, men come to build

stately sooner than to garden finely, as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For Decem-⁵ ber and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pineapple trees,^o fir-trees, rosemary, lavender, periwinkle (the white, the purple, and the blue), germander, flags,¹⁰ orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles (if they be stoved^o), and sweet marjoram, warm set.^o There followeth for the latter part of January and February, the mezerion-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; prim-¹⁵ roses, anemones, the early tulip, hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris, fritellaria. For March, there come violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cor-²⁰ nelian-tree in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet, the wallflower, the stock gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces and lilies of all natures, rosemary-flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle,²⁵ the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene and plum-trees in blossom, the whitethorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush pink; roses of all kinds except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles, straw-³⁰

berries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes,^o figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian,^o with the white flower, herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom.

In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears and plums in fruit, ginnittings, quadlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricocks, barberries, fil-
 10 berds, musk-melons, monkshoods of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones,^o nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October, and the beginning of November, come services, medlars, bullaces, roses
 15 cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum*^o as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter
 20 in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast^o flowers of their smells, so
 25 that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow; rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram. That which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in
 30 the air is the violet, specially the white double violet,

which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide.^o Next to that is the musk-rose^o; then the strawberry leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, — it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent,^o which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-briar; then wallflowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, specially the matted pink and clove gilliflower; then the flowers¹⁰ of the lime-tree; then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three:¹⁵ that is, burnet, wild thyme, and watermints; therefore you are to set whole alleys^o of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For^o gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the con-²⁰tents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts: a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground²⁵ be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a

fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front
 upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden.
 But because the alley will be long, and, in great heat
 of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade
 5 in the garden by going in the sun through the green,
 therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant
 a covert^o alley upon carpenter's work, about twelve
 foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the
 garden. As for the making of knots^o or figures with
 10 divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the
 windows of the house on that side which the garden
 stands, they be but toys^o: you may see as good sights
 many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square,
 encompassed on all the four sides with a stately
 15 arched hedge^o; the arches to be upon pillars of car-
 penter's work of some ten foot high, and six foot
 broad, and the spaces between of the same dimen-
 sion with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches
 let there be an entire^o hedge of some four foot high,
 20 framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the
 upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret with a
 belly, enough to receive a cage of birds; and over
 every space between the arches some other little
 figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass, gilt
 25 for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend
 to be raised upon a bank, not steep but gently slope,^o
 of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also, I under-
 stand that this square of the garden should not be
 the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on
 30 either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys,

unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure: not at the hither end, for letting^o your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for^s letting your prospect from the hedge, through the arches, upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into, first¹⁰ it be not too busy^o or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff, — they be for children. Little low hedges round like welts,^o with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places, fair columns upon¹⁵ frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to²⁰ walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles^o without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting house, with some chimneys^o neatly cast, and without too much glass. 21

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures: the one that sprink-
leth or spouteth water; the other a fair receipt^o of 22

water of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, which are in use, do well; but the main matter is so to convey the
 5 water as it never stay either in the bowls or in the cistern, that the water be never by rest discoloured green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and
 10 some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, where-with we will not trouble ourselves: as that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise;
 15 and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statuas. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain: which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a
 20 water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away underground by some equality of bores^o that it stay little. And for fine devices of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking
 25 glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees, I would have none in it,
 30 but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and

honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses, for these are sweet and prosper in the shade; and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps in the nature of mole-hills, such as are in wild heaths, to be set, some with wild thyme,^o some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye, some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with ¹⁰ red roses, some with liliu convallium, some with sweet williams red, some with bear's foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked^o upon their top, and part without. The ¹⁵ standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like; but these standards to be kept with cutting that they grow not out of course.^o ²⁰

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp you may walk as in a gallery. And those ²⁵ alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends to keep out the wind, and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet.^o In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges. ³⁰

And this would^o be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit trees be fair and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly. lest they deceive^o the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height; leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys, ranged on both sides with fruit trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit trees, and arbours with seats set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest^o upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year. and in the heat of summer for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them, that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary.

So I have made a platform^o of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines^o of it; and in this I have aspared for no cost. But it is nothing for great

princes, that for the most part taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together; and sometimes add statuas and such things for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden. 5

XLVII. OF NEGOTIATING

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter, and by the mediation° of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce 10 his own letter; or where it may be danger° to be interrupted or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good when a man's face° breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender° cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom 15 he speaketh may give him a direction how far to go; and generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow° or to expound.°

In choice of instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sort,° that are like to do that that is com- 20 mitted to them, and to report back again faithfully the success,° than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help° the matter in report for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect° the 25 business wherein they are employed, for that quicken-

eth much; and such as are fit for the matter: as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd^o men for business that doth not well bear out^o itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription.^o

It is better to sound a person with whom one
10 deals, afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite,^o than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start^o
15 or first performance is all; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest
20 man.

All practice^o is to discover or to work. Men discover^o themselves in trust, in passion, at un-awares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext.
25 If you would work any man,^o you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with
30 cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends

to interpret^o their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty a man may not look to sow and reap at once, but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees. 5

XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS

COSTLY followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train^o longer he maketh his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune^o in suits. Ordinary followers ought to 10 challenge^o no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factionous followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against 15 some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill-intelligence^o that we may many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious^o followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for 20 they taint business through want of secrecy, and they export honour^o from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials,^o which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales 25 of them to others. Yet such men many times are in

great favour, for they are officious,^o and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates^o of men answerable to that which a great person himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been
 5 employed in the wars, and the like) hath ever been a thing civil,^o and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp^o or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following is, to be followed as one that apprehendeth to^o advance virtue and desert
 10 in all sorts of persons. And yet where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable^o than with the more able. And besides, to speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous.^o It is true that in govern-
 15 ment it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily is to make them insolent and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But contrariwise, in favour,^o to use men with much difference and election is good: for
 20 it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious; because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out^o that proportion. To be governed, as we call it, by one^o is not
 25 safe, for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation^o; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them,^o and thereby wound their^o honour. Yet to
 30 be distracted with many is worse, for it makes men

to be of the last impression and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable, "for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters, and the vale best discovereth the hill." There is little friendship^o in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend^o the one the other.

XLIX. OF SUITORS

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken, and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many ¹⁶ good matters are undertaken with bad minds: I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace^c suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some ¹⁸ other mean,^c they will be content to win a thank or take a second reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an information whereof they could not ²⁰ otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment^o to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end to ²¹ gratify the adverse party or competitor.

Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit, either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance^o to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving^o or disabling^o the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is
 10 good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour; but let him choose well his referendaries,^o for else he may be led by the nose.

Suitors are so distasted^o with delays^o and abuses,
 15 that plain dealing in denying^o to deal in suits at first and reporting the success^o barely, and in challenging^o no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable, but also gracious.^o In suits of favour the first coming^o ought to take little place;
 20 so far forth consideration may be had of his trust,^o that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note,^o but the party left to his other means, and in some sort recompensed for his discovery.^o To
 25 be ignorant of the value of a suit^o is simplicity, as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience.

Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing^o them to be in forwardness^o may discour-
 30 age some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and

awake others. But timing^o of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean,^o rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest^s mean; and rather them that deal in certain^o things than those that are general.^o

The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. "Iniquum^o petas, ut æquum feras" is a good rule where a man hath strength of favour; but otherwise a man were better rise^o in his suit, for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour.^o 13

Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person as his letter^o; and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers^o of suits: for they are but a kind of poison and 20 infection to public proceedings.

L. OF STUDIES

STUDIES serve for delight,^o for ornament, and for ability.^o Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring^o; for ornament is in discourse; and for ability is in the judgment and disposition of business. 25 For expert^o men can execute, and perhaps judge

of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots^o and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth, to use them too much for
 5 ornament is affectation, to make judgment only by their rules is the humour^o of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience. For natural abilities are like natural plants, that need
 10 proyning^o by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large,^o except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men condemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use, but that is a wisdom without^o them and above them, won by
 15 observation.

Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider.^o Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to
 20 be chewed and digested: that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously^o; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others;
 25 but that would be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy^o things. Reading maketh a full man, conference^o a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore
 30 fore if a man write little, he had need have a great

memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present^o wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not.

Histories make men wise, poets witty,^o the mathematics subtile, natural philosophy deep, moral grave,⁸ logic and rhetoric able to contend. "Abreunt studia^o in mores." Nay, there is no stond^o or impediment in the wit^o but may be wrought out by fit studies, like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins ¹⁰ shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like. So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again. If his wit ¹⁵ be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen,^o for they are *cymini sectores*.^o If he be not apt to beat over^o matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind ²⁰ may have a special receipt.

LI. OF FACTION

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate,^o or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect^o of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, ²⁵ the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things

which are general,° and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence° to particular persons, one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men,° in their rising, must adhere°; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction which° is
 10 most passable° with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff° do tire out a greater number that are more moderate.

15 When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth: as the faction between Lucullus° and the rest of the nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*°) held out awhile against the faction of Pompey° and Caesar°; but when the
 20 Senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius° and Octavianus Cæsar,° against Brutus° and Cassius,° held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after
 25 Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided.

These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds° in factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also
 30 they prove ciphers and cashiered; for many a man's

strength is in opposition. and when that faileth he groweth out of use.

It is commonly seen that men once placed, take in with° the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking belike° that they have the first sure, 5 and now are ready for a new purchase.° The traitor in faction lightly° goeth away with it: for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth° them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage° between two factions 10 proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self,° with end to make use of both. Certainly in Italy they hold it a little suspect° in popes, when they have often in their mouth "Padre comune,°" and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth 15 to refer all to the greatness of his own house.

Kings° had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount 20 to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king "tanquam unus° ex nobis," as was to be seen in the league° of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their 25 authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs; which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.° 30

LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS

HE that is only real had need have exceeding great parts of virtue, as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil.^o But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings
 5 and gains. For the proverb is true, that "light gains make heavy purses;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note; whereas the
 10 occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is, as Queen Isabella^o said, "like perpetual letters commendatory," to have good forms.

To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise
 15 them: for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace, which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syl-
 20 lable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again,^o and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be
 25 not to be omitted to strangers and formal^o natures: but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth dimin-

ish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly there is a kind of conveying^o of effectual and imprinting^o passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it.

Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of a familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state.^o Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself 10 cheap. To apply one's self to^o others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility.^o It is a good precept, generally, in seconding^o another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as, if you will grant his opinion, let it 15 be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason.

Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient other- 20 wise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute.^o to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects,^o or to be too curious^o in observing times and opportunities. Solomon^o saith, "He that con- 25 sidereth the wind shall not sow; and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap." A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel: not too strait or point device,^o but free for exercise or motion. 30

LIII. OF PRAISE

PRAISE is the reflection of virtue: but it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflection. If it be from the common people° it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues. The lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all: but shows and *species virtutibus similes*° serve best with them. Certainly fame is like a river that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid. But if persons of quality° and judgment concur, then it is, as the Scripture° saith, 15 "Nomen° bonum instar unguenti fragrantis." It filleth all round about and will not easily away: for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers.

There be so many false points of praise, that a 20 man may justly hold it a suspect.° Some praises proceed merely of flattery: and if he° be an ordinary flatterer he will have certain common attributes° which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's 25 self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself therein the flatterer will uphold him most; but if 30 he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is

conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance^o in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce,^o *spread conscientia*.^o Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando precipere*,^o when, by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them: *pessimum*^o *genus inimicorum laudantium*; insomuch^o as it was a proverb^o amongst the Grecians that "he that was praised to his hurt should have a push^o rise upon his nose;" as we say that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie. Certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar,^o is that which doth the good. Solomon^o saith, "He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse." Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate^o contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. 20

To praise a man's self, cannot be decent,^o except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity.^o The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues^o and friars and schoolmen,^o have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business; for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*,^o which is "under-sheriffries," as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catch-30

poles°; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul,° when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, "I speak like a fool;" but speaking of his calling he saith, "Magnificabo° apostolatum meum."

LIV. OF VAIN-GLORY

It was prettily° devised of Æsop°: "The fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot-wheel, and said, 'What a dust do I raise!'" So are there some vain persons that, whatsoever goeth alone,° or moveth
 10 upon greater means,° if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious° must needs be factious; for all bravery° stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts.
 15 Neither can they be secret, and, therefore, not effectual°; but, according to the French proverb, "Beau-coup de bruit, peu de fruit": Much bruit,° little fruit. Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil° affairs: where there is an opinion and fame
 20 to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius° noteth in the case of Antiochus° and the Ætolians,° there are sometimes great effects of cross lies°; as if a man° that negotiates between two princes, to
 25 draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the

one to the other. And sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest^o than he hath in either. And in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing;^s for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance.

In military commanders^o and soldiers vain-glory is an essential point: for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory^o one courage sharpeneth another. In cases¹⁰ of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition^o of glorious natures doth put life into business: and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning the flight will be slow, without¹⁵ some feathers of ostentation. "Qui de^o contemenda gloria libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt." Socrates,^o Aristotle,^o Galen,^o were men full of ostentation. Certainly, vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so²⁰ beholding^o to human nature as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero,^o Seneca,^o Plinius Secundus,^o borne her age so well, if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves, — like unto varnish, that makes seelings^o not²⁵ only shine, but last.

But all this while, when I speak of vain-glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus^o doth attribute to Mucianus, "Omnium,^o quæ dixerat, feceratque, arte quadam ostentator:" for that proceeds³⁰

- not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion, and in some persons is not only comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions,^o modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation.
- 5 And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of: which is, to be liberal of praise and commendation to others in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For, saith Pliny, very wittily,^o "in commending
- 10 another, you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more. If he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less."
- 15 Glorious^o men are the scorn of wise men; the admiration of fools; the idols of parasites; and the slaves of their own vaunts.

LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

- THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage.^o For
- 20 some in their actions do woo and affect^o honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it, so as they be undervalued in opinion.
- 25 If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before; or attempted and given over; or

hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance; he shall purchase more honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty of virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper^o his actions, as in some one^o of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband^o of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is ¹⁰gained and broken upon another^o hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets. And, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants ¹⁵help much to reputation: "Omnis fama^o a domesticis emanat." Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring^o a man's self in his ends rather to seek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine providence ²⁰and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy.

The true marshalling^o of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: - In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus,^o Cyrus,^o Caesar,^o ²⁵Ottoman,^o Ismael.^o In the second place are *legislatores*, lawgivers, which are also called second founders, or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone. Such were Lycurgus,^o Solon,^o Justinian,^o Eadgar,^o Alphonsus ³⁰

of Castile,^o the Wise, that made the *Siege Partidas*.^o
 In the third place are *liberatores*,^o or *salvatores*,^o such
 as compound^o the long miseries of civil wars, or de-
 liver their countries from servitude of strangers or
 5 tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar,^o Vespasianus,^o Aurili-
 anus,^o Theodoricus,^o King Henry the Seventh^o of
 England, King Henry the Fourth^o of France. In
 the fourth place are *propagatores*,^o or *propugnatores*^o
imperii, such as in honourable wars enlarge their
 10 territories, or make noble defence against invaders.
 And in the last place are *patres patria*,^o which reign
 justly and make the times good wherein they live.
 Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in
 such number.

15 Degrees of honour in subjects are: — First, *par-
 ticipes curarum*,^o those upon whom princes do dis-
 charge the greatest weight of their affairs; their
 right hands, as we call them. The next are *duces
 belli*, great leaders; such as are princes' lieuten-
 20 ants, and do them notable services in the wars. The
 third are *gratosi*, favourites^o; such as exceed not
 this scantling,^o to be solace to the sovereign and
 harmless to the people. And the fourth, *negotii
 pares*^o; such as have great places under princes, and
 25 execute their places with sufficiency. There is an
 honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the
 greatest, which happeneth rarely: that is of such
 as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the
 good of their country; as was M. Regulus^o and the
 30 two Decii.^o

LVI. OF JUDICATURE

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere* and not *jus dare*: to interpret law, and not to make law or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the Church of Rome, which, under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick^o to add and alter: and to pronounce^o that which they do not find: and by show^o of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible,^o and more advised^o than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. "Cursed," saith the law,^o "is he that removeth the landmark." The mislayer of a merestone^o is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital^o remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. 15 One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Solomon,^o "Fons^o turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causa sua coram adversario." 20

The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue; unto the advocates that plead; unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them; and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. "There be," saith the Scripture,^o "that turn judgment into wormwood;" and surely there be also that turn it

into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud, whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth^o to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great^o counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen, to make^o inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. "Qui^o fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;" and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences, for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour, and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture^o speaketh, "Pluet^o super eos laqueos;" for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long,^o or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: "Judicis^o officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum," etc. In causes of life and death, judges ought, as far as the law permitteth,

in justice to remember mercy^o; and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead, patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an over-speaking judge is no "well-tuned cymbal."^o It is no grace to a judge first to find^o that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit^o in cutting off evidence or counsel too short; or to prevent^o information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency^o of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory^o and willingness^o to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who "represseth^o the presumptuous and giveth grace to the modest." But it is more strange that judges should have noted favourites,^o which cannot but cause multiplication of fees and suspicion of byeways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth

not^o; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit^o of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil^o reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop with^o the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew, after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers.^o The place of justice is an hallowed place, and, therefore, not only the bench, but the footpace^o and precincts and purprise^o thereof, ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption. For certainly "grapes," as the Scripture^o saith, "will not be gathered of thorns or thistles," neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling^o clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments:—First, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*,^o but *parasiti curiæ*,^o in puffing a court up^o beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are

full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller^o and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding^o in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of **it** a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables,^o "*Salus^o 15 populi suprema lex:*" and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a state when kings and states do often consult with judges, and again, when judges **2** do often consult with the king and state: the one when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state, the other when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law. For many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* **2** and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate. I call matter of estate not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent, or concerneth manifestly any great portion:

of people. And let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy, for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne, being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws. For they may remember what the Apostle^o saith of a greater law than theirs: "*Nos scimus^o quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*"

LVII. OF ANGER

- 15 To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery^o of the Stoics.^o We have better oracles^o: "Be angry, but sin not; let not the sun go down upon your anger." Anger must be limited and confined, both in race^o and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit to be angry may be attempered^o 20 and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger, in another.
- 25 For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how

it troubles man's life. And the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca° saith well, that "Anger is like ruin," which breaks itself upon that it falls." The Scripture° exhorteth us "to possess our souls in patience."° Whosoever is out of patience is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees,

"— Animæque° in vulnere ponunt."

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness, as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns: children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear, so they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt, for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them which more robust natures have little sense of. The next is, the apprehension and construction° of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt. For contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger as much or more than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt,° they do kindle their anger much. Lastly,

opinion of the touch^o of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is that a man should have, as Consalvo^o was wont to say, "*telam^o honoris crassiozem.*" But in all refrainings of anger it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it; and so to still himself in the meantime and reserve it.

10 To contain^o anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate^o and proper,^o for *communia maledicta^o* are nothing so
15 much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets, for that makes him not fit for society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

20 For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering, as was touched before, all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt.
25 And the two remedies are by the contraries: the former, to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business, for the first impression is much; and the other is to sever,^o as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point
30 of contempt, imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS

SOLOMON° saith, "There is no new thing upon the earth;" so that, as Plato° had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance, so Solomon giveth his sentence,° "that all novelty is but oblivion." Whereby you may see that the river of Lethe° runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith: "If it were not for two things that are constant (the one is that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion° perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment." Certain it is that the matter° is in a perpetual flux,° and never at a stay.° The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two, — deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely° dispeople and destroy. Phaeton's car° went but a day. And the three years' drought in the time of Elias° was but particular,° and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow. But in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion° is all one, as if none had been

left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there was not by earthquakes (as the Egyptian priest^o told Solon² concerning the island of Atlantis,^o that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts; but, on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Afric and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel^o hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things, — traducing Gregory the Great,^o that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities, — I do not find that those zeals do any great effects nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian,^o who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitudes or mutations in the superior globe^o are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year,^o if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like^o individuals (for that is the fume^o of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate^o influences upon these things below than indeed they have), but in gross Comets, out of

question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects, specially in their respective effects: that is, what kind of comet for magnitude,^s colour, version^o of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy^o which I have heard, and I would not have it given over,^o but waited upon^c a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries, I¹¹ know not in what part, that every five-and-thirty years the same kind and suit^o of years and weathers comes about again: as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like, — and they call it the prime. It is a¹⁵ thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men is the vicissitude of sects and religions; for²⁰ those orbs^o rule in men's minds most. The true religion is "built^o upon the rock;" the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak, therefore, of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human²⁵ judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you³⁰

may doubt^o the springing up of a new sect, if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof. All which points held when Mahomet^o published his law.

5 If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread. The one is the supplanting or the opposing of authority^o established; for nothing is more popular than that. The other is the giving license to pleasures and a voluptuous life. For as for

10 speculative heresies, such as were in ancient times the Arians,^o and now the Arminians,^o though they work mightily upon men's wits,^o yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner

15 of plantations of new sects: by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms. I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature; and I may

20 do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms than to reform abuses; to compound^o the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and

25 rather to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, but chiefly in three things: in the seats or stages of

30 the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the

conduct. Wars in ancient time seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, which were the invaders, were all eastern people. It is true the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs, — the one to Gallo-Græcia,^o the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the East or West, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere; or of the great continents that are upon the North, whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest and the courages warmest. 20

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey. So was it in the decay of the Roman empire; and likewise in the empire of *Al-maigne*^o after *Charles the Great*,^o every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if 20

it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars. For when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day. except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people; but when there be great shoals of people, which go on^o to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation,^o it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, — which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot, casting lots what part should stay at home and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation; yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain^o it is that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes in India, and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons and their improvement are: First, the fetching^o afar off,

for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arriations^o and ancient inventions. The third is the commodious use of them, as, that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing^o 18 days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles.^o After, they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning 19 diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of 20 a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but beginning and almost childish; then his youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then his strength of years, when it is solid and reduced^o; and lastly, his old age, 21 when it waxeth dry and exhaust.^o But it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels^o of vicissitude, lest we become giddy. As for the philology^o of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing. 22

NOTES

L OF TRUTH

(1625)

1:1. Pilate. See John xviii. 38.

1:4. affecting. 'Aiming at; desiring. Compare Latin *affecto*.

1:5. sects of philosophers. The Grecian schools of Sceptics.

1:11. imposeth upon. Understand as object 'burden' or 'yoke.'

1:13. a natural though corrupt love. Compare Browning's *The Bing and the Book*, Book X, "The Pope": —

" Man must tell his mate
Of you, me and himself, knowing he lies,
Knowing his fellow knows the same, — will think
'He lies, it is the method of a man!'
And yet will speak for answer 'It is truth'
To him who shall rejoin 'Again a lie!'"

1:14. One of the later schools of the Grecians. Lucian.

2:13. One of the Fathers. Augustine, in his *Confessions*.

2:14. vinum dæmonum. 'The wine of devils.'

2:2. The poet. Lucretius.

2:3. The sect. The Epicureans. See note on page 6, line 4.

2:4. excellently well. Compare the same reference in *The Advancement of Learning*, end of Book I: "which the poet Lucretius describeth elegantly."

2:20. round. Thorough; plain. Compare Malvolio in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, Act II, Sc. 3: —

"Sir Toby, I must be round with you;"

and Polonius in *Hamlet*, Act III, Sc. 4:—

“Pray you, be round with him.”

3:28. Montaigne. A French writer, 1533-1592.

4:9. “He shall not find faith upon the earth.”—Luke xviii. 8.

II. OF DEATH

(1612. Enlarged, 1623)

4:18. mortification. Methods of disciplining the body, even of ill-treating it, for religious ends.

4:26. “Pompa,” etc. “The trappings of death frighten us more than death itself.”—SENECA.

5:3. blacks. Mourning garments.

5:12. pre-occupateth. Anticipates,—commits suicide. Otho. The Roman emperor, Salvius Otho, who slew himself after his defeat by Vitellius, his successor, A.D. 69.

5:16. Seneca. Roman philosopher under Nero. A Stoic.

5:17. “Cogita,” etc. ‘Consider how long you have been doing the same things; the longing for death is natural not only to the brave, or the miserable, but also to the sensitive.’

5:24. Augustus Cæsar. Roman emperor, B.C. 31-A.D. 14.

5:25. “Livia,” etc. ‘Farewell, Livia, and remember our married life.’

5:26. Tiberius. Successor to Augustus, A.D. 14-37.

5:27. Tacitus. Roman historian, born A.D. 54. “Jam,” etc. ‘Tiberius was now losing strength and vitality, but not dissimulation.’

5:28. Vespasian. Roman emperor, A.D. 69-79.

5:29. “Ut puto,” etc. ‘I think I am becoming a god.’

5:30. Galba. Roman emperor, A.D. 68-69, slain in the capital by rebellious soldiers. “Peri,” etc. ‘Strike, if this be for the good of Rome!’

6:2. *Septimius Severus*. Roman emperor, A.D. 193-211. "Adeste," etc. 'Be quick, if aught remains for me to accomplish.'

6:4. *Stoics*. One of the four principal Greek schools of philosophy: the Academicians (Plato); the Peripatetics (Aristotle); the Epicureans (Epicurus); and the Stoics (Zeno). The Stoics taught indifference to all ends other than virtue.

6:6. "qui," etc. 'Who regards the end of life as one of nature's blessings.'

6:15. *Nunc dimittis*. Luke ii. 29: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." A Church of England canticle.

6:18. "*Extinctus*," etc. 'Let him die, and you'll love him to-morrow.'

III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION

(1612. Greatly enlarged, 1625)

This essay doubtless grew out of Bacon's strong dislike of theological controversy, as expressed in *The Advancement of Learning*. It was originally written in 1612, and greatly enlarged in 1625. The air was full of discord during these years, the Puritans being at one extreme and the High Church party at the other.

7:14. *solution of continuity*. Interruption of bodily harmony.

7:18. "*Ecce*," etc. 'Behold, he is in the desert.'

7:19. "*Ecce*," etc. 'Behold, he is in the secret closet.'

7:23. "*Nolite exire*," 'Go not out.' See context.

7:24. *doctor*. Teacher. St. Paul.

8:2. "*chair of the scorners*." See Psalm i. 1.

8:5. *a master of scoffing*. Rabelais, a French humorist, 1495 (?)-1558.

8:7. *morris-dance*. An old English festival dance. The

name is probably corrupted from *Morisco*, or Moorish, the dance having been brought into England from Spain.

8:10. *politica*. Politicians.

8:21. *zelants*. Zealots.

8:23. "turn thee behind me." See 2 Kings ix. 17-19.

8:25. *Laodiceans*. Lukewarm persons. See Rev. iii. 14-16.

9:20. "In veste," etc. 'Let there be variety, but no division, in the garment.'

10:7. "Devita," etc. 'Avoiding the profane novelties of words, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so termed.' See 1 Tim. vi. 20.

10:18. *Nebuchadnezzar's image*. See Dan. ii. 31-33.

10:21. *muniting*. Strengthening, fortifying.

10:27. *Mahomet's*. Mahomet, spelled also Mohammed, was born at Mecca, Arabia, A.D. 571. He founded the Mohammedan religion.

11:9. *Agamemnon*. King of Mycenæ and Argos. Upon Helen's elopement with Paris, Agamemnon led the Greeks against Troy. At this time he killed a stag sacred to Diana, and pacified the goddess only by sacrificing his daughter Iphigenia.

11:11. "Tantum," etc. 'To such dreadful evils could religion constrain!'

11:13. *massacre*. Slaughter of the Protestants in France, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. *powder treason*. The Gunpowder Plot, November 5, 1605, devised by Robert Catesby, Guy Fawkes, and others, to blow up the House of Parliament in London, as a Roman Catholic protest against the extortions of James I.

11:19. *Anabaptists*. A religious sect that became very active after the opening of the Reformation. Their fanatical career provoked severe persecution, until, after defeats in Saxony and Franconia, they seized Münster and held it for a time, being

eventually driven thence with heavy losses. Their general principles were purer than their conduct.

12: 6. *facts*. Deeds. Compare Latin *facta*.

12: 9. *would*. Should.

12: 10. "Ira," etc. 'The wrath of man worketh not the justice of God.' See Jas. i. 20.

12: 11. *a wise father*. One of the priests of the early Church.

12: 14. *interested*. Interested.

IV. OF REVENGE

(1625)

12: 15. *wild*. Natural; uncultivated.

12: 23. "It is the glory," etc. See Prov. xix. 11.

12: 10. *no law*. A reference to occasions for duelling, a practice prevalent in Bacon's day, and to which he was strongly opposed.

12: 13. *it is two for one*. That is, the law's punishment is added to the original wrong suffered, and one's enemy is "still beforehand," or, as the phrase now runs, — ahead.

12: 20. *Cosmus*. A descendant of the lesser branch of the great Medici family, who became Duke of Florence in 1537.

12: 25. *Job*. See Job ii. 10.

14: 3. *Pertinax*. Roman emperor, murdered by soldiers, A.D. 193. Bacon means that Augustus Caesar, Septimius Severus, and Henry IV., of France, who avenged the deaths of the persons mentioned, were prosperous.

V. OF ADVERSITY

(1625)

This essay was written after Bacon's fall.

14: 8. *Seneca*. See note on page 5, line 14.

14:9. *Stoics.* See note on page 6, line 4.

14:11. *adversity.* Compare Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Act II, Sc. 1:—

"Sweet are the uses of adversity;
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

"*Bona.*" etc. See context.

14:18. "*Vere.*" etc. See context.

14:25. *Hercules.* A famed hero of mythology, who achieved the "Twelve Labours of Hercules," and, after his death, became a god.

14:28. *Prometheus.* Another hero, son of Iapetus and Clymene, who scaled the heavens and brought back the fire withdrawn from earth by Zeus (Jupiter). For this he was condemned to be chained to a rock, with his liver eternally exposed to a vulture's hunger. He was released by Hercules. The myth has often been celebrated in poetry.

15:4. *a mean.* A more moderate fashion.

15:11. *David's harp.* The *Psalm*.

15:23. *discover.* Uncover; reveal.

VL OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

(1625)

This essay appeared at the close of Bacon's life. It indicates at once his worldly — sometimes Machiavellian — wisdom, and his recognition of character as, after all, the thing of most worth.

16:1. *politics.* See note on page 8, line 10.

16:3. *Tacitus.* See note on page 5, line 27. *sorted.* Harmonized with.

16:5. *Augustus.* See note on page 5, line 24.

16:6. *Tiberius.* See note on page 5, line 26.

16:7. *Vespasian*. See note on page 5, line 28. *Vitellius*. See note on page 5, line 12.

16:15. *half-lights*. Compare the Latin translation: 'As it were, in twilight.'

16:27. *managed*. Trained.

17:11. *industriously*. Purposely.

17:21. *in that kind*. Thus; in that way.

17:26. *open*. Bacon speaks from experience.

17:27. *futile*. Loquacious; literally, leaky.

18:2. *leave to speak*. That is, that his countenance and his words agree. Compare Emerson: "What you are speaks so loud I cannot hear what you say."

18:3. *tracts*. Traits.

18:15. *absurd*. Unreasonable. Applied, as Mr. Aldis Wright tells us, to the answer given by a deaf man (*surdus*), which does not touch the question; hence *absurdus*, deaf to reason.

18:18. *oraculous*. Oracular; having a double meaning.

18:24. *except it be*. Note the influence of Machiavelli's views. He was a great writer of the Italian Renaissance, a notable student of politics and statecraft.

18:30. *ure*. Use. Derived from the French *Aeur* (Latin, *augurium*), destiny, experience, fortune.

19:10. *fair*. 'Just,' simply.

19:16. *set it even*. Bacon's balancing habit constantly asserts itself, a habit temperamental with him, but confirmed by his long experience as lawyer and statesman. Compare the *Antitheta* in the *De Augmentis*.

19:19. *round*. Direct; thorough. A reference to archery. See note on page 8, line 20.

19:25. *trust and belief*. The man in Bacon will out.

19:26. *compagitation and temperature*. Temperament. Literally, combination and blending.

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

20 : 2. *nor*. The double negative is common in Elizabethan English. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act 1, Sc. 2 : —

“ It is not, nor it cannot come to good.”

20 : 13. *posterity*. So that the childless are most concerned for the welfare and opinion of posterity.

20 : 20. *Solomon*. See Prov. x. 1.

20 : 25. *wantons*. ‘Pets’; spoiled favourites.

21 : 2. *shifts*. Makeshifts; disingenuous schemes. *sort*. Consort.

21 : 4. *proof*. Result.

21 : 9. *sorteth*. Turns out.

21 : 13. *lump*. Family-at-large.

21 : 26. “*Optimum*,” etc. ‘Choose the best, custom will make it agreeable and easy.’

21 : 28. *fortunate*. In that they must depend on their own efforts for advancement and recognition. Bacon himself is a case in point.

VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

Bacon's view of matrimony is not romantic. He examines dispassionately its advantages and disadvantages. The student will remember that he failed in his own suit for the hand of Lady Hatton, and married Alice Barnham some ten years later. See the Introduction, pages xv and xxvii.

22 : 2. *hostages to fortune*. Pledges that he will run as few risks as possible.

22:9. greatest care. Contrast the preceding essay, page 20, lines 8-13. Can you reconcile these statements?

22:10. dearest pledges. Compare Milton's *Lycidas*, line 107:—

"Ah! who hath reft, quoth he, my dearest pledge?"

22:13. importunences. Irrelevant to their own personal programmes.

22:17. because. In order that.

22:23. humorous. Originally applied to any one of the four principal 'humours' or moistures of the body, — blood, phlegm, cholera, melancholy; later restricted to apply only to the mood of mirth. Used by Bacon as by Jonson (compare *Every Man in His Humour*) to mean whimsical, fastidious. Compare this use as persisting in Washington Irving's *Sketch-Book*: "were I to mention the other makeshifts of this worthy old humourist," and "grown into keeping with the antiquated mansion, and the humours of its lord." — *The Christmas Dinner*.

22:5. indifferent. Neutral.

22:8. For. As for; concerning. Compare *Hamlet*, Act I, Sc. 2:—

For your intent
In going back to school in Wittenberg
It is most retrograde to our desire."

Act I. Sc. 3:—

"For Hamlet and the trifling of his favour,
Hold it a fashion, and a toy in blood."

22:9. hortatives. Heartening or directing speeches; exhortations.

22:21. Ulysses. The "weary, wayworn wanderer" of Homer's *Odyssey* who declined Calypso's offer of immortality, in order that he might return to his wife Penelope. "Vetulam," etc. "He preferred his old wife to immortality."

23:22. *proud and froward.* * Compare Chesterton's *Robert Browning*, Chapter III: "He had, what is perhaps the subtlest and worst spirit of egotism, not that spirit merely which thinks that nothing should stand in the way of its ill-temper, but that spirit which thinks that nothing should stand in the way of its amiability."

23:29. *quarrel.* Ground; occasion.

24:2. "not at all." Thales of Miletus, a Greek philosopher, is credited with this evasive saying.

IX. OF ENVY

(1625)

24:11. *fascinate.* In his *Advancement of Learning* and *Natural History* Bacon calls attention to the influence of spirit upon spirit through the medium of the eye. The sinister idea of witchcraft was still adhered to.

24:17. *Scripture.* See Matt. vi. 22, 23; Luke xii. 84; Deut. xxviii. 54-55.

24:19. *still.* Always, as frequently in Shakespeare.

24:20. *ejaculation.* 'Casting out.'

25:4. *fit place.* See, as above, *The Advancement of Learning*, Book II. and the *Natural History*.

25:22. "Non est," etc. 'Whoever is of a prying disposition is false-hearted.'

25:24. *new men.* A Roman phrase for the first members of families elevated to 'place.'

25:30. *impair another's.* Compare *Richard III*, Act I, Sc. 1, the Duke of Gloucester's soliloquy.

26:2. *his honour.* Compare the earlier part of Thackeray's famous novel, *Henry Esmond*.

26:5. *Narces.* A great Roman general under Justinian.

Agesilaus. King of Sparta, noted for his military prowess, fourth century B.C.

26:6. Tamberlance. Born 1335 A.D., a noted Mongol warrior. Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*.

26:12. levity. Lightness; want of balance.

26:15. Adrian. Or, Hadrian. Became emperor of Rome A.D. 117. He is reputed to have banished Apollodorus the architect on account of the latter's unfavourable criticism of one of his architectural designs.

26:23. incurreth Entereth; literally, 'runs into.'

26:27. to look on. And therefore there was no possible reference to another's good or bad opinion.

27:13. darken it. Compare our colloquial 'put it in the shade.'

27:21. per saltum. 'At a bound.'

27:23. travels. Travails; toils.

27:29. "Quanta patimur." 'How much we suffer!'

28:12. well Happy; satisfied.

28:23. disavow fortune. Virtually confess his unfitness.

28:29. lot. The spell. 'Sorcerer' is derived from the Latin *sors*, French *sort*. Compare the Biblical narratives of the casting out of evil spirits.

29:2. derive. Turn aside.

29:7. undertaking. Over-ready; rash.

29:23. plausible. Literally, as here, 'deserving applause.'

29:30. kings and estates themselves. Compare the history of Bacon as Lord Chancellor.

30:9. of all other affections. Idiomatic. 'Of all the affections.'

30:12. "Invidia," etc. 'Envy takes no holidays.'

30:19. envious man. See Matt. xiii. 25.

X. OF LOVE

(1612. Much enlarged, 1625)

Notice Bacon's characteristically cool, sagacious, prudential view of this subject, — one, if any, that would afford him opportunity for 'poetizing' a little. He becomes much more eloquent on "power to do good" in the succeeding essay.

30:23. beholding. A seventeenth-century form of 'beholden.'

31:4. not one. An elastic statement, though rendered fairly safe by the use of 'mad.'

31:6. weak passion. Compare Bacon's "Love is a nuisance, and an impediment to important action." Says Miss Agnes Repplier, in her *Marriage in Fiction*: "That pleasant old romancer, Maistro Rusticiano di Pisa, tells us that a courtier once asked Charlemagne whether he held King Meliadus or his son Tristan to be the better man. To this question the Emperor made wise reply: 'King Meliadus was the better man, and I will tell you why. As far as I can see, everything that Tristan did was done for love. . . . Now this same thing can never be said of King Meliadus. For what deeds he did, he did them, not by dint of love, but by dint of his strong right arm. Purely out of his own goodness he did good, and not by constraint of love.' "

31:7. Marcus Antonius. Or, Mark Antony, triumvir with Octavian and Lepidus. Slew himself B.C. 30. See Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*.

31:9. Appius Claudius, the decemvir. One of the Roman Council of Ten. He was unlawfully enamoured of Virginia. See Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

31:15. Epicurus. See note on page 6, line 4. "Satis," etc. 'Each of us is to his fellow a theatre large enough.'

31:18. a little idol. The eye, which induces worship of what it sees. Compare line 20 below.

31:22. braves. Despises any suggestion of the relative importance of things.

31:26. well said. By Plutarch.

31:27. have intelligence. That is, 'are related to.'

32:1. well said. By Publilius Syrus of Antioch, first century B.C.

32:5. reciproque. Adjective. Mutual.

32:6. reciproque. Noun. Corresponding affection.

32:11. Helena. Helen of Troy, given to Paris, a Trojan shepherd, by Venus, in return for his famous judgment awarding her the golden apple as the fairest of goddesses. Venus was the goddess of love and beauty.

32:12. Juno. Consort of Jupiter, and hence queen of the gods. Pallas. Or, Minerva, the goddess of wisdom.

32:14. his. 'Its' was rarely used in Bacon's day.

32:20. keep quarter. Remain within due bounds.

32:21. check. Interfere.

XL OF GREAT PLACE

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

When this essay appeared in 1612, Bacon had become Solicitor. It was revised and enlarged in 1625. The student will note the vein of personal experience throughout.

33:13. it. The antecedent is 'rising unto place.'

33:16. "Cum," etc. 'When you are no longer what you have been, then there is no further reason for desiring to live.'

34:5. strangers. Comparatively unacquainted with their own more personal affairs.

34:8. "Illi," etc. 'Death weighs on him heavily who dies known of all men, but to himself a stranger.'

34: 12. can. Be able.

34: 13. power to do good. Among Bacon's noblest sentiments.

34: 18. motion. Activity.

34: 19. conscience. Consciousness.

34: 22. "Et conversus," etc. 'And God turned to behold all the works which his hands had fashioned, and saw that they were all very good.'

34: 24. Sabbath. The time of rest after the accomplishment of good.

34: 26. a globe. A collection.

35: 3. bravery. Ostentation; boastfulness.

35: 5. Reduce. Literally, as here, 'carry back.'

35: 12. express thyself well. Explain your course clearly.

35: 15. de facto. 'As a matter of course.'

35: 23. facility. Fickleness.

35: 25. interlace. Intermix; allow to become entangled.

35: 26. necessity. Compare this sentence with Bacon's wise statement of his policy as Lord Chancellor.

35: 29. offering. Recall the carelessness of Bacon's servants, and the gift-giving custom of his time.

36: 8. inward. Intimate; close to his master.

36: 14. worse than bribery. Compare *The Advancement of Learning*, Book II: "A corrupt judge offendeth not so lightly [*i.e.* yields not so quickly] as a facile."

36: 17. Solomon. See Prov. xxviii. 21.

36: 21. "Omnium," etc. 'Everybody would have judged him fit for empire, even though he had never been emperor.'

36: 22. Tacitus. See note on page 5, line 27. Galba. See note on page 5, line 30.

36: 23. Vespasian. See note on page 5, line 28. "Solus," etc. 'Vespasian was the only emperor who [becoming such] changed for the better.'

- 36:25. sufficiency.** Masterfulness in statecraft.
36:27. honour amends. Whom prosperity improves.
37:2. to side a man's self. To take sides with one party or other.
37:3. balance himself. Be neutral; without partisanship.
37:10. place. Office. See line 12 below.

XII. OF BOLDNESS

(1625)

37:16. Demosthenes. Greatest of Athenian orators, 384-322 B.C.

38:3. Boldness. Bacon more than once touches on his own personal deficiency in boldness, a characteristically English endowment. Compare Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, Act II, Sc. 2:—

“Cowards die many times before their deaths.”

Compare also Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book III, Canto XI:—

“And, as she lookt about, she did behold
 How over that same dore was likewise writ,
Be holde, be holde, and every where. *Be bold*;
 That much she muzz'd, yet could not construe it
 By any ridling skill, or commune wit.
 At last she spyde at that rowmes upper end
 Another yron dore, on which was writ,
Be not too bold.”

- 38:10. popular states.** Democracies.
38:15. mountebanks. Quacks; charlatans.
38:21. Mahomet. See note on page 10, line 27.
39:10. into a most shrunken and wooden posture. Compare Washington Irving's *The Angler*: “The mantelpiece was deco-

rated with seashells, over which hung a quadrant, flanked by two woodcuts of most bitter-looking naval commanders."

39:13. **a stale at chess.** A stalemate; that is, when the game so develops that one player cannot move without exposing his king to check. **mate.** Checkmate, the term used to indicate that the game is finished, one player's king being in check and unable to extricate himself.

XIII. OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

39:24. **affecting of.** Aiming at; seeking.

40:9. **excess but error.** See line 22 below.

40:18. **Busbechius.** A Flemish diplomat, 1522-1592.

40:26. **Machiavel.** See note on page 18, line 24.

41:8. **Æsop's cock.** Æsop (Æsopus) was a Phrygian (?) philosopher, who gave currency to the so-called Æsopic Fables, most of which existed in some form or another long before his time. Compare "Cast not your pearls before swine." — *Matt.* vii. 6.

41:12. **just and unjust.** See *Matt.* v. 45.

41:17. **divinity.** Theology. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." — *Matt.* xxii. 39.

41:19. **follow me.** See *Mark* x. 21.

42:1. **difficileness.** Obstinacy.

42:2. **mere.** Sheer; complete. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act I, Sc. 2:—

"Fie on't! ah fie! 'tis an unweeded garden
That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
Possess it merely."

42:4. **loading part.** Making heavier one's misfortunes.

42:5. **Lazarus' sores.** See *Luke* xvi. 21.

42:7. *misanthropi*. Haters of men. Contrast page 40, line 1, 'philanthropia.'

42:9. *Timon*. Timon of Athens owned a small plot of ground, on which grew a fig tree. Being about to cut down the tree in order to build, he invited any persons who wished to hang themselves to make use of the tree before, in Shakespeare's phrase, it had "felt the axe."

42:12. *politics*. Politicians.

42:17. *citizen of the world*. As was Bacon, at his best. Universality is a prime test and trait of greatness.

42:26. *trash*. Money. Originally, 'bits of broken sticks found under trees,' then 'refuse,' then a term applied to money in a spirit of indifference. Compare Shakespeare's *Othello*, Act III, Sc. 3:—

"Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing."

42:28. *salvation of his brethren*. See Rom. ix. 8.

XIV. OF NOBILITY

(1612. Revised and enlarged, 1635)

43:2. *estate*. State.

43:5. *attempers*. Modifies.

43:9. *stirps*. Stocks; families.

43:12. *flags*. The insignia of a noble family.

43:13. *Switzers*. Swiss.

43:14. *cantons*. Or, counties, of which Switzerland has many.

43:15. *respects*. Regard for station. Compare "For there is no respect of persons with God." — Rom. ii. 11.

43:18. *indifferent*. Impartial.

43:21. *presseth*. Depresseth. Compare Essay XXIX, page 103, lines 24-26.

44:13. virtuous. From the Latin *virtus*, manly worth; hence, as here, masterful, strong, able.

44:15. a commixture. A frank recognition of the worldly methods of place-hunters, though not, as some think, a personal endorsement of such 'little wisdom' as ethical.

44:22. motions of envy. Compare Essay IX, page 26, line 23 *seq.*

XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES

(1625. Much enlarged from the Ms. of 1607-1612)

45:1. calendars. A statement of the moon's phases, etc., for each month: here, therefore, signs or predictions.

45:4. equinoctia. The equinox. From *æquus*, equal, and *nox*, night. The time of the sun's entrance upon the equinoctial line, when the days and nights are of equal length the world over. The vernal equinox occurs about March 21; the autumnal about September 23.

45:7. "Ille etiam," etc. 'He also [the sun] often warns us of the coming of obscure troubles and of gathering treason and looming wars.' From Vergil's *Georgics*, I.

45:9. licentious. Loose; gross.

45:14. Fame. Rumour.

45:15. "Illam Terra," etc. 'She was the last child of Earth, as the story goes, sister to Enceladus and Cœus, borne by her mother enraged at the anger of the gods.' From Vergil's *Æneid*, IV.

45:24. plausible. See note on page 20, line 23.

45:26. Tacitus. See note on page 5, line 27.

46:1. "Conflata," etc. 'When envy is excited, all actions, whether good or bad, offend.'

46:3. that. Redundant; used probably for clearness.

46:9. "Erant," etc. 'They kept their posts, yet rather as

if they preferred to criticise the orders of their officers than to obey them.'

46 : 13. **essay**. Essay ; attempt.

46 : 17. **Machiavel**. See note on page 18, line 24.

46 : 18. **common parents**. Guardians of the interests of all the people.

46 : 22. **league**. The Holy League, organized in 1575, led by the house of Guise, having as its ultimate object the succession of Catholics only to the throne of France. In 1588 Henry III. was expelled from Paris.

47 : 1. **of**. For.

47 : 4. **primum mobile**. The ruler corresponds to the 'primum mobile' in the old astronomy. This was the tenth sphere, enclosing the solar system. It completed its revolutions in twenty-four hours, its motion affecting that of the inner spheres. The phrase means 'first moved.'

47 : 7. **their own particular motion**. The manner of their individual activity.

47 : 8. "**liberius**," etc. 'Too freely to suggest respect for government.'

47 : 12. "**Solvam**," etc. 'I will loose the girdles of kings.' See *Isa.* xlv. 1.

47 : 16. **part**. Discussion.

47 : 23. **bear it**. Allow it.

47 : 28. **It**. Namely, the proposition that follows.

47 : 29. **Lucan**. Or, M. Annæus Lucanus, a native of Spain, who went as a youth to Rome during the reign of Nero. He at length offended the emperor by his superiority as a poet, and was condemned to death.

48 : 1. "**Hinc usura**," etc. 'Hence came devouring usury and greedy interest at the day of reckoning, hence shaken credit, and war a benefit to many.' From Lucan's *Pharsalia*. The original has '**avidum**' for '**rapidum**.'

48:10. **humours.** See note on page 22, line 23.

48:12. **this.** That is, what follows.

48:18. "**Dolendi,**" etc. 'There is a limit to pain, but not to fear.' — From Pliny's *Letters*, VIII.

48:20. **mate.** See note on page 39, line 18.

48:28. "**The cord,**" etc. Compare "It's the last straw that breaks the camel's back."

49:9. **just.** Appropriate; adequate.

49:17. **sumptuary laws.** Laws regulating expenditures. Latin, *sumptuarius*, from *sumo*, *sumere*, *sumptum*.

49:22. **stock.** Produce.

49:30. **necessity.** Want; poverty.

50:3. **preferments.** Salaried places of service.

50:5. **estate.** State, as before.

50:6. **foreigner.** Only a half-truth, the reverse proposition being also true. Exchanges between nations, as between persons, may benefit both.

50:9. **venture.** Latin *veho*, *vezi*, *vectum*, to carry.

50:12. "**materiam,**" etc. See context.

50:16. **mines above ground.** A bold figure, signifying rich resources other than mineral, — as manufacturing, carrying, etc.

50:20. **muck.** Manure. Compare the "man with the muck-rake" in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

50:22. **strait.** Strict; controlling.

50:24. **engrossing.** Buying in gross; monopolising. **great pasturages.** Large tracts of land appropriated for the sustenance of sheep, as the wool trade grew.

50:27. **noblesse.** Aristocracy.

51:7. **Jupiter.** The ruler of the gods, corresponding to the Greek Zeus.

51:8. **Pallas.** See note on page 32, line 12. **Briareus.** Or, **Ægeon**, a famous giant, having a hundred hands and fifty heads.

51 : 14. **bravery.** Audacity ; bravado.

51 : 17. **imposthumations.** Abscesses. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act IV, Sc. 4 :—

"This is the imposthume of much wealth and peace,
That inward breaks, and shows no cause without
Why the man dies."

51 : 18. **Epimetheus.** Afterthought. mought. Might.

51 : 19. **Prometheus.** Forethought ; and see note on page 14, line 26.

51 : 23. **artificial.** Skilful.

52 : 1. **peremptory.** Inevitable.

52 : 4. **brave.** Assume as their 'platform.'

52 : 16. **fronted.** Confronted.

52 : 29. "**Sylla.**" etc. 'Sylla did not know his letters, and could not dictate.' A pun on the last word.

53 : 2. **Galba.** See note on page 5, line 30.

53 : 3. "**Legi,**" etc. 'That he levied his soldiers, and did not buy them.'

53 : 4. **donative.** Granting of gifts. **Probus.** Roman emperor, 276-282 A.D.

53 : 5. "**Si vixero,**" etc. 'If I live, the Roman Empire shall have no further occasion for soldiers.'

53 : 12. **flat.** Dull ; tiresome.

53 : 18. **useth.** Is accustomed.

53 : 21. "**Atque is,**" etc. 'Such was the state of feeling that a few dared undertake evil, more desired it, all condoned it.'

53 : 24. **popular.** Solicitous of public favour.

53 : 25. **correspondence.** Balance ; equilibrium.

XVI. OF ATHEISM

(1612. Much enlarged, 1625)

Bacon's religion, though sincere, is given somewhat formal expression in language. In his great work, *The Advancement of Learning*, he hesitates to attempt a 'philosophy' of religion, but seeks rather to make of it a 'department' of life. Accordingly, Bacon's personal goodness is greater than his remarks concerning religious topics. Yet the present essay contains several vital and noble sentiments.

54:1. Legend. *The Golden Legend*, containing stories of the saints, etc., written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, born about 1230.

54:2. Talmud. Civil and canonical laws of the Jews. **Alcoran.** Or, Al Koran. The Mohammedan 'Bible,' dictated to Mohammed by Gabriel, as the legend runs.

54:4. convince. Refute.

54:6. a little philosophy. Compare Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, Part II:—

"A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

54:9. second causes. Efficient causes. "For example," says Abbott, "the lightning parting the air is the efficient or second cause of the thunder, of which God is the first cause."

54:15. Leucippus. Founder of the atomic theory. **Democritus.** Exponent of the same theory, born B.C. 460. **Epicurus.** See note on page 6, line 4.

54:17. fifth essence. The quintessence regarded by Aristotle as composing the heavenly bodies.

54:19. portions or seeds. Or, atoms. **unplaced.** Not given their due or appropriate order.

54:22. Scripture. See Psalm xiv. 1.

54 : 25. **that.** The theory.

55 : 5. **fainted in it.** Became doubtful of it.

55 : 19. "**Non deos,**" etc. 'Profanity does not consist in denying the gods of the people ; but in applying popular conceptions to the gods.'

55 : 20. **Plato.** B.C. 427-347. The renowned philosopher of Athens, fairly to be regarded as the greatest figure in the history of philosophy.

55 : 23. **nature.** Existence.

55 : 26. **Jupiter.** See note on page 51, line 7. **Apollo.** Or, Phoebus, son of Jupiter and Latona. Patron of the fine arts, and master of music, poetry, and eloquence. **Mars.** Or, Ares, son of Jupiter and Juno. God of war and lover of Venus.

56 : 1. **contemplative.** Reaching his conclusions by pure thought.

56 : 2. **Diagoras.** A fifth century (B.C.) philosopher. **Bion.** A witty commentator on men and ideas, who lived in the third century B.C. **Lucian.** See note on page 1, line 14.

56 : 13. **scandal of priests.** Ecclesiastical immorality, against which great evil the wise and good have cried out through the centuries. Compare Chaucer's *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, Milton's *Lycidas*, Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*, Browning's *The Ring and the Book*. Compare also the frequent Scriptural rebukes of priestly selfishness and hypocrisy.

56 : 14. **St. Bernard.** Abbot of Clairvaux, a noble priest, born A.D. 1091. "**Non est,**" etc. 'One cannot now say, "The priests are as bad as the people," for now the people are better than the priests.'

56 : 21. **to religion.** Compare George Herbert's *The Pulley* and A. H. Clough's *There is no God*.

56 : 25. **base and ignoble creature.** Compare Browning's *A Death in the Desert* :—

" But if, appealing thence, he cower, avouch
 He is mere man, and in humility
 Neither may know God nor mistake himself;
 I point to the immediate consequence
 And say, by such confession straight he falls
 Into man's place, a thing nor God nor beast,
 Made to know that he can know and not more:
 Lower than God who knows all and can all,
 Higher than beasts which know and can so far
 As each beast's limit, perfect to an end,
 Nor conscious that they know, nor craving more;
 While man knows partly but conceives beside,
 Creeps ever on from fancies to the fact,
 And in this striving, this converting air
 Into a solid he may grasp and use,
 Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,
 Not God's, and not the beasts': God is, they are,
 Man partly is and wholly hopes to be."

56: 29. maintained by a man. Compare Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, Lyric 63: —

" Yet pity for a horse o'er-driven,
 And love in which my hound has part,
 Can hang no weight upon my heart
 In its assumptions up to heaven;

" And I am so much more than these
 As thou, perchance, art more than I,
 And yet I spare them sympathy,
 And I would set their pains at ease.

" So mayst thou watch me where I weep,
 As, unto vaster motions bound,
 The circuits of thine orbit round
 A higher height, a deeper deep."

Compare also Maurice Maeterlinck's *Our Friend the Dog*: "He occupies in this world [the brute creation] a preëminent posi-

tion, enviable among all. He is the only living being that has found and recognizes an indubitable, tangible, unexceptionable and definite god. He knows to what to devote the best part of himself. He knows to whom above him to give himself. He has not to seek for a perfect, superior, and infinite power in the darkness, amid successive lies, hypotheses, and dreams. That power is there, before him, and he moves in its light."

56:30. *melior natura*. Better nature. See page 57, line 2.

57:11. *Cicero*. Marcus Tullius Cicero, greatest of Roman orators, B.C. 106-43. "*Quam volumus*," etc. 'Esteem ourselves never so highly, Conscript Fathers, yet we cannot compare with the Spaniards in numbers, the Gauls in bodily strength, the Carthaginians in cunning, the Greeks in art, nor yet with our own Italians and Latins in the homely and native sentiment peculiar to this land and people; but we have surpassed all other peoples and nations in piety and religion, and in our attestation of the one great principle, that all things are subject to the government of the Immortal Gods.'

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION

(1612. Revised and enlarged, 1625)

57:22. *contumely*. Mockery.

57:24. *Plutarch*. A celebrated Greek biographer, born in Boeotia, at Chæronea. About A.D. 50-120.

58:3. *Saturn*. Or, *Kronos*, a god who, according to the Greek tradition, devoured his children.

58:13. *Augustus Caesar*. See note on page 5, line 24.

58:14. *civil*. Peaceful.

58:16. *primum mobile*. See note on page 47, line 4. *ravisheth*. Sweeps around with.

58:19. *in a reversed order*. Other than in the natural manner

58:21. Council of Trent. A famous general council of the Roman Catholic Church, assembled at Trent by Pope Paul III. in 1545, and not concluding its work, owing to delays and suspensions, until 1563. It discussed and settled many matters of doctrine and reform, as deciding the attitude of the Church toward the principles of Luther and the Reformation. **schoolmen.** A name applied to the philosophers of the Middle Ages, whose attempt, in their 'Scholasticism,' was to buttress the principles and practices of the Church with the authority of Aristotle.

58:23. eccentrics and epicycles. "According to the Ptolemaic system," says Abbott, "the planets were supposed to move in (1) circles whose centres themselves moved in (2) circles. The former circles were called 'on-circles,' or epicycles; the latter, having their centre at a little distance from the earth, were called eccentric ('from-centre')." "

58:24. engines of orbs. Orbits invented to accord with the described phenomena.

58:25. no such things. Compare Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book VIII, itself based on the Ptolemaic astronomy, for artistic reasons:—

"How they will wield
The mighty frame; how build, unbuild, contrive
To save appearances; how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb."

58:29. causes. High Churchmen and Puritans are both indicated here.

59:16. in avoiding superstition. Another of Bacon's unforgettable proverbs, testifying to the balance of his mind and the justness of his temper.

59:19. would. Ought to.

59:21. reformer. These last remarks were added in 1625, and show Bacon's dislike of the Puritan programme. Compare the Introduction.

XVIII. OF TRAVEL

(1625)

Compare with this essay Emerson's remarks on travel in his essay entitled *Culture*, beginning "I am not much an advocate for travelling." Each writer gravely, Emerson the more directly, strikes a balance.

60:1. allow. Endorse; approve.

60:10. diaries. Perhaps a reference to the log-book.

60:17. consistories. Meetings; councils.

60:21. disputations. Formal debates, or polemic theses.

60:25. burses. Bourses; exchanges.

61:11. card. Chart.

61:18. adamant. Magnet; lodestone.

61:20. diet. Eat.

61:26. with much profit. One is reminded of the worldly wisdom of Polonius as he bids Laertes farewell. — *Hamlet*, Act I, Sc. 3.

62:1. suck the experience. Gather information concerning other countries by virtue of contact with those who have travelled therein.

62:4. the life. The person in flesh and blood.

62:16. advised. Discreet; thoughtful.

62:17. tell stories. A common failing of travellers in all times.

62:19. prick in. Plant.

XIX. OF EMPIRE

(1612. Revised and enlarged, 1625)

63:24. matter of desire. Subjects of further ambition.**63:2.** Scripture. See Prov. xxv. 3.**63:9.** toys. Trifles.**63:10.** order. Society or institution.

63:12. Nero. Emperor of Rome, A.D. 54-68. Originally a quiet and studious youth, he became the most dissolute and cruel of tyrants. He killed his mother, Agrippina; divorced his wife, Octavia; is reputed to have burned Rome in A.D. 64, that he might be so inspired to celebrate musically the destruction of Troy; cruelly murdered many Christians and political and private enemies; and finally slew himself A.D. 68.

63:13. Domitian. Emperor of Rome, A.D. 81-96. He was a second Nero. Assassinated A.D. 96.

63:14. Commodus. Emperor of Rome, A.D. 180-192, a sensual and vicious man.

63:15. Caracalla. Joint emperor of Rome with Geta, his brother, whom he murdered. Gibbon describes him as "the common enemy of mankind." Assassinated A.D. 217.

63:25. Alexander the Great. Son of Philip of Macedonia, he became a world-conqueror, and died at Babylon, B.C. 323.

Diocletian. Emperor of Rome, A.D. 284-305. He lived several years after his abdication of the throne with his colleague, Maximian. He was an able soldier and a fair statesman.

Charles V. Abdicated in 1556, and entered upon a life of asceticism. He even had his own obsequies performed before him a month prior to his death.

63:28. is not the thing he was. Compare Essay XI, page 33, line 16.

63:29. temper. Blending of qualities, or of 'contraries.'**64:1.** distemper. Refusal of the 'contraries' to mix.

64:3. Apollonius. A first-century miracle-worker. Vespasian. See note on page 5, line 28.

64:10. interchange. Referring to the two phrases that follow.

64:18. deliveries. Modes of escape.

64:23. Tacitus. See note on page 5, line 27.

64:24. "Sunt plerumque," etc. 'The desires of kings are generally violent and arbitrary.'

64:25. solecism. Weakness; defect.

64:26. mean. Means.

65:8. approaches. Means of invasion.

65:17. peace at interest. The interest, that is, of future disadvantage.

65:19. Guiccardine. Italian historian, 1488-1540.

65:21. Lorenzian Mediceus. Or, Lorenzo de' Medici, the great Italian publicist and patron of art.

65:23. schoolmen. See note on page 58, line 21.

65:24. precedent. Preceding. Note the Machiavellian influence here.

65:29. Livia. Wife of Augustus, emperor of Rome. Compare Essay II, page 5, line 25; Essay VI, page 16, line 3. infamed. Disgraced; made infamous.

65:30. Roxolana. Solyman's wife. Solyman reigned as Sultan of Turkey, 1520-1526.

66:1. Mustapha. Roxolana's stepson, slain by her that the succession might be secured to her own son.

66:8. his queen. The possessive sign 's was early confounded with 'his.'

66:7. advoutrresses. Adulteresses.

66:17. Crispus. Executed in A.D. 326.

66:18. Constantine the Great. Succeeded Diocletian as sole emperor of Rome, A.D. 324-337. He respected Christianity, and made Constantinople his capital.

66:22. Julianus. Cousin of Constantine, and the last of Constantine's line to occupy the throne.

66:24. Demetrius. Executed in B.C. 179 on a false accusation.

66:29. Selymus I. Called Solyman the Magnificent. **Bajazet.** A rebellious son of Selymus, who was executed by his father.

66:30. three sons. Henry, Geoffrey, and Richard, warring kinsmen.

67:3. Anselmus. Anselm, a noted French scholar, who became Archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of William II. **Thomas Becket.** Made Archbishop by Henry II., he quarrelled frequently with the king, and was murdered in the cathedral by four knights, who interpreted one of Henry's passionate speeches as Becket's death-warrant.

67:4. crosiers. Official staffs of the archbishops.

67:5. try it. Contend.

67:8. that state. The clerical order.

67:9. foreign authority. The papacy.

67:13. depress. Keep down.

67:21. fain. Constrained, though reluctantly.

67:27. they. Referring to the 'higher nobility.'

67:30. vena porta. The gate vein. "The metaphor," says Ellis, "is historically curious; for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals. But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins which converge to the *vena porta*. The latter immediately divides into branches, and ultimately into four ramifications, which are distributed throughout the substance of the liver, so that it has been compared to the trunk of a tree giving off roots at one extremity and branches at the other. Bacon's meaning, therefore, is that commerce concentrates the resources of a country in order to their redistribution."

68: 3. **imposts.** Legal levyings.

68: 5. **in the shire.** What is gained in part is lost in the whole. "Hundred" refers to an old form of division in the counties; "leeseth" means loseth.

68: 14. **janizaries.** Corrupted from a Turkish phrase for 'new troops,' a corps established in 1326, and composed largely of Christian captives.

68: 15. **pretorian bands.** Instituted by Augustus and given double pay.

68: 16. **several.** Distinct; separate.

68: 23. "**Memento quod es homo.**" 'Remember that you are a man.'

68: 24. "**Memento quod es Deus.**" 'Remember that you are a god.' "**vice Dei.**" 'God's vicegerent.'

XX. OF COUNSEL

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

The results of Bacon's long experience as a member of the court and a servant of state are reduced to these thoughtfully organized and balanced suggestions. If they seem too smooth and even in tone, let it be remembered that Bacon was a chess-player who moved slowly and warily, but none the less with zest, hope, and sincerity.

68: 26. **greatest trust.** Compare Tennyson's *The Coming of Arthur*: —

"And Arthur said, 'Man's word is God in;
Let chance what will, I trust thee to the death.'"

69: 10. **Solomon.** See Prov. xx. 18.

69: 12. **agitation.** Note the paronomasia. *Agitare* in Latin means 'to toss' (see "tossed" following) and 'to discuss' (see subject of *essay*).

- 69: 16. Solomon's son. Rehoboam. See 1 Kings xii.
- 69: 21. young. Rehoboam heeded young counsellors.
- 69: 22. matter. Meaning; policy.
- 69: 26. Jupiter. See note on page 51, line 7.
- 69: 27. Metis. Daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, and first wife of Jupiter.
- 70: 4. Pallas. See note on page 32, line 12.
- 70: 17. resembled. Likened.
- 71: 1. cabinet councils. Secret councils, not the modern 'cabinet.' An early manuscript copy of the *Essays* preserved in the British Museum reads, after the word "disease": "which hath turned Metis the wife to Metis the mistress, that is, councils of state to which princes are married, to councils of gracious persons recommended chiefly by flattery and affection." Buckingham, no doubt, is meant.
- 71: 2. disease. See *Essay XV*, page 53, lines 26, 27.
- 71: 5. extract and select. The first verb refers to "matters," the second to "counsellors."
- 71: 10. "Plenus," etc., 'I am full of cracks.' futile. See note on page 17, line 27.
- 71: 19. grind with a hand-mill. Serve himself.
- 71: 24. Morton. John Morton, Bishop of Ely, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury. Fox. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Both were friends and counsellors of Henry VII.
- 71: 29. dependancies. Dependents.
- 72: 2. holpen. Archaic form of past participle 'helped.'
- 72: 4. "Non inveniet," etc. 'He shall not find faith on the earth.' The last words of *Essay I*.
- 72: 16. "Principis," etc. 'It is a ruler's greatest virtue to know his subjects.'
- 72: 18. speculative. Frying; inquiring.
- 72: 20. their. Modern syntax would require 'his,' which would, however, make the pronouns of the sentence more am-

biguous than they are. How would you reconstruct the sentence? *natura*. Personality.

72:27. *obnoxious*. Exposed; influenced by.

73:6. the good choice of persons. A recognition of 'the man behind the matter.' Bacon looks upon 'matters' as made for men, not *vice versa*.

73:7. *secundum genera*. 'By classes.'

73:11. "Optimi," etc. 'The best counsellors are the dead.'

73:12. *blanch*. Shrink; show timidity. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act II, Sc. 2:—

"I'll tent him to the quick: if he but blench,
I know my course."

73:20. "in nocte consilium." 'There's counsel in [the lapse of] a night.'

73:23. a grave and orderly assembly. Bacon was present as a prominent adviser. See Introduction, page xxvi.

73:26. *hoc agere*. 'Attend to business.'

73:28. *indifferent*. Neutral.

73:30. *standing*. Permanent.

74:2. *some provinces*. Certain subjects.

74:7. *mintmen*. Skilled coin workers.

74:10. *tribunitious*. Forward. The tribunes represented the Roman plebeians as against the patricians.

74:20. take the wind of him. Catch his meaning; accord with his ideas.

74:21. *placebo*. 'I will please.'

XXI. OF DELAYS

(1625)

Bacon's experience as a suitor in both love and politics made him acquainted with the virtue of patience, and wise to note the time of preparation and the moment of action.

74:24. Sibylla's offer. An old woman offered Tarquinius Priscus the books of the Sibyl, but he, not understanding their importance, refused to buy them. Thereupon she burned several and increased the price of the remaining books. This process was repeated until Tarquinius was advised by an augur to close the bargain.

74:26. still. Always.

75:21. Argus. The Argostorides, was set by Juno to watch Io, whom Jupiter had made an heifer. He had an hundred eyes, which were all closed in sleep by the lyre-playing of Hermes, or Mercury, who then slew him.

75:22. Briareus. See note on page 51, line 8.

75:23. Pluto. Son of Saturn and Ops, and king of the infernal regions. His helmet made the wearer invisible. Compare Homer's *Iliad*, V, 145.

XXII. OF CUNNING

(1612. Greatly enlarged, 1625)

76:5. pack the cards. Arrange them unfairly; that is, obtain the initial advantage by means of their cunning.

76:12. practice. Intrigue. Compare our 'sharp practice.'

76:16. "Mitte," etc. 'Send them both naked [without familiar aids] among strangers, and you will see.'

76:21. Jesuits. A celebrated religious order under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, founded by Ignatius of Loyola in 1534. It has had large influence in determining both ecclesiastical and political affairs.

76:24. would. Should; ought to.

77:3. secretary. Cecil or Walsingham. Compare Apophthegm 84.

77:11. cross. Prevent; interfere with. doubts. Fears.

77:24. Nehemiah. See Neh. ii. 1.

78:1. Narcissus, etc. Narcissus was secretary to the Roman emperor Claudius, whose wife Messalina married Silius, a noble. Narcissus informed the emperor of this fact indirectly, through two women, whose story brought about the examination of Silius.

78:19. apposed. Questioned. Compare, as an excellent illustration of this, Edmund in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Act I. Sc. 2.

78:25. two. Supposed to be Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley.

78:26. kept good quarter. Maintained friendly relations.

79:9. cat. Cate, or cake.

79:17. Tigellinus. Nero's depraved favourite.

79:18. Burrhus. A thoughtful counsellor of Nero, executed by him A.D. 68. "**Se non.**" etc. "He had no conflicting desires, but looked singly to the safety of the emperor."

79:23. in guard. As not responsible for direct assertions.

80:1. how far about they will fetch. How remotely and indirectly they will 'come to the point.'

80:5. lay him open. Expose his secret thought or attitude.

80:7. Paul's. St. Paul's Church, a common haunt or meeting-place of citizens. Chaucer tells us of the Wife of Bath in his *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* that

"Housbondes at chirche dore she hadde fyve,"

and he praises the Poor Parson because he did not, like many others in orders, run

" . . . to Londoun, unto Seinte Poules, .

To seken hym a chaunterie for soules,

Or with a bretherhed to been withholde."

80:10. wares. Tricks; habits. Bacon is not sponsor for such habits, though familiar with them. He sees their relative weakness and unimportance. See page 76, line 18.

80 : 14. resorts. Sources.

80 : 15. main. The chief part.

80 : 18. looses. Ways out.

80 : 24. Solomon. See Prov. xiv. 15.

80 : 25. "Prudens." etc. "The simple believeth every word : but the prudent man looketh well to his going." (*Revised Version.*)

XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

81 : 2. shrewd. Mischievous ; troublesome.

81 : 8. right earth. Precisely like the earth, around which, thought Bacon, the heavenly bodies revolve.

81 : 18. crooketh. Bends.

81 : 19. eccentric. Opposed.

82 : 4. bias. A charge of lead inserted in the bowl, which deflects it from a straight course. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act II, Sc. 1 : —

" And thus do we of wisdom and of reach,
With windlasses and with assays of bias,
By indirections find directions out."

82 : 11. to roast their eggs. Compare Lamb's essay, *A Dissertation on Roast Pig*.

82 : 23. Cicero. See note on page 57, line 11. Pompey. Or, Cneius Pompeius, who became triumvir with Cæsar and Crassus. A breach followed, and Pompey was defeated by Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia. He escaped to Egypt, where he was assassinated B.C. 48.

82 : 24. "sui amantes," etc. 'Self-lovers without a rival.' Compare Browning's *Pippa Passes*, first Interlude : "The aims of that fellow, that Giovacchino ! He was in violent love with

himself, and had a fair prospect of thriving in his suit, so unmoledted was it, — when suddenly a woman falls in love with him, too ; and out of pure jealousy he takes himself off to Trieste, immortal poem and all."

XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS

(1625)

83 : 1. **births.** Offspring.

83 : 7. **perverted.** The old theology held that there *is* in man a 'radical twist' toward evil.

83 : 12. **of course.** Naturally ; in due course.

83 : 17. **fit.** Appropriate to the conditions.

84 : 6. **pairs.** Impairs. **holpen.** Archaic form of 'helped.' Compare Essay XXIX, page 105, line 19.

84 : 13. **pretendeth.** Uses as its programme, without reference to ultimate motive.

84 : 15. **suspect.** A thing under suspicion. **Scripture.** See Jer. vi. 16.

XXV. OF DISPATCH

(1612. Slightly enlarged, 1625)

84 : 19. **Affected.** Unduly desired.

84 : 25. **paces.** See Eccl. ix. 11.

85 : 4. **for the time.** Considering the (shortness of the) time. **false periods.** etc. Apparently completed transactions ; in reality uncompleted.

85 : 5. **because.** In order that.

85 : 10. **a wise man.** Sir Anyas Paulett, whom Bacon as a young man accompanied to France.

85 : 15. **hand.** Price.

85 : 19. **Spain.** Long the characteristic reputation of that

country, whose diplomacy has been and is noted for its habit of polite procrastination.

85 : 27. **moderator.** Master ; examiner.

85 : 28. **actor.** The person speaking or examined.

86 : 2. **curious.** Involved ; elaborate.

86 : 4. **passages.** Transitions.

86 : 5. **excusations.** Apologies.

86 : 7. **bravery.** Ostentation

86 : 8. **material.** Direct ; scornful preparation of the hearers' minds.

86 : 11. **unguent.** Ointment

86 : 26. **pregnant of direction** Suggestive of other methods or adjustments than the plan rejected

XXV. OF SEEMING WISE

(1612 Last sentence added, 1625)

87 : 5. **Apostle.** St. Paul. See 2 Tim. iii. 5.

87 : 8. "**magno**," etc. 'Trifles with a great effort.'

87 : 11. **formalists.** Petty-minded persons. "seeming wise."
prospectives. Glasses, similar to our stereoscope, which induced visual dimension when flat surfaces were examined through them.

87 : 21. **Cicero.** See note on page 57, line 11. **Piso.** A Roman consul.

87 : 24. "**Respondes**," etc. 'You reply, with one eyebrow raised to your forehead and the other lowered to your chin, that you do not like cruelty.'

87 : 26. **bear it** Carry it through.

88 : 2. **make good** Prove, or confirm. Compare our modern colloquialism.

88 : 7. **blanch.** Gloss over ; avoid. See note on page 73, line 12 **Gellius.** Aulus Gellius was a Roman grammarian who

lived during the period of the Antonines. His *Notæ Atticæ* is a notable work of criticism and travel. Mr. Wright states that Bacon is in error in attributing this passage to Gellius, and that he quotes from memory the substance of one of Quintilian's remarks concerning Seneca.

88 : 8. "Hominem," etc. 'A silly fellow, who disturbs the serious concerns of business with verbal quibbles.'

88 : 9. Plato. See note on page 55, line 20.

88 : 10. Protagoras. Prodicus. Two Athenian Sophists. One of the Platonic dialogues is given the name of Protagoras.

88 : 14. to be. In being.

88 : 20. inward. Disguised; the 'inwardness' of his condition being hid by pretence of prosperity.

88 : 21. their. False syntax in modern English.

88 : 23. opinion. reputation.

XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP

(1625. The brief essay of 1612 is hardly a nucleus)

This essay has especial reference to the long and gracious friendship between Bacon and Toby Matthews. The edition of 1612 contains a very short treatment of the topic; that of 1625 redeems his promise to Matthews: "For the Essay of Friendship, while I took your speech of it for a cursory request, I took my promise for a compliment. But, since you call for it, I shall perform it."

The student will do well to consider also in relation to this essay Bacon's connection with Essex and with Buckingham. Emerson's essay on the same subject should be read for many interesting points of similarity and divergence.

89 : 1. him. Aristotle, in his *Politics*.

89 : 6. averation. aversion.

89 : 10. sequester. withdraw.

89:13. *Epimenides*. A Cretan poet, fabled to have fallen asleep in a cave while a youth, and to have remained asleep for fifty-seven years. *Numa*. Numa Pompilius, successor to Romulus as king of Rome, B.C. 716-673. He is said to have founded the Roman religious institutions, receiving instruction from the nymph Egeria in the grove of Aricia.

89:14. *Empedocles*. A Sicilian philosopher reputed to have thrown himself into the crater of Mount Ætna in order to create the impression that he was a god. See Matthew Arnold's *Empedocles on Etna*.

89:15. *Apollonius*. See note on page 64, line 3.

89:19. a gallery of pictures. Compare Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, Lyric 70; Stephen Phillips' *Faces at a Fire*.

89:20. tinkling cymbal. See 1 Cor. xiii. 1.

89:22. "Magna civitas," etc. 'A great city is a great solitude.'

89:26. mere. Complete; utter.

90:10. sarza. Sarsaparilla.

90:13. a true friend. Compare from Emerson's essay on *Friendship*: "The end of friendship is a commerce the most strict and homely that can be joined; more strict than any of which we have experience. It is for aid and comfort through all the relations and passages of life and death. It is fit for serene days, and graceful gifts, and country rambles, but also for rough roads and hard fare, shipwreck, poverty and persecution."

90:27. sorteth to. Tends to; results in.

90:29. privadoes. Bosom friends.

91:2. "participes curarum." 'Partners in cares.' The Roman emperor Tiberius so named his chief adviser, Ælius Sejanus.

91:11. *Sylla*. L. Cornelius Sulla, a Roman of high military genius, who successfully led an army against Marius in Rome,

and also defeated the Pontic king Mithridates. He became dictator and consul, and died B.C. 78.

91 : 12. **Pompey**. See note on page 82, line 23.

91 : 19. **Julius Cæsar**, a great soldier and statesman, first emperor of Rome, conqueror of Pompey. He was slain B.C. 44 by conspirators led by C. Cassius Longinus and Marcus Junius Brutus. Decimus Brutus. One of the conspirators against Cæsar, to whom his victim had bequeathed the control of Cisalpine Gaul. He was put to death by Antony's orders, in Aquileia B.C. 43.

91 : 26. **Calpurnia**. The wife of Cæsar.

91 : 30. **Antonius**. See note on page 31, line 7.

92 : 2. **Augustus**. See note on page 5, line 24.

92 : 3. **Agrippa**. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, adviser of Augustus.

92 : 4. **Mæcenas**. C. Cilnius Mæcenas, another adviser, and patron of art and literature.

92 : 9. **Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus**. See note on page 91, line 2.

92 : 12. "Hæc pro," etc. 'Because of our friendship I have not concealed these thoughts.'

92 : 16. **Septimius Severus**. See note on page 6, line 2. **Plautianus**. Praetorian prefect, representing the emperor.

92 : 22. **Trajan**. Emperor of Rome, A.D. 98-117. **Marcus Aurelius**. Emperor A.D. 161-180. Two great rulers.

93 : 3. **Comineus**. Philippe de Comines, the French historian, 1446-1509.

93 : 4. **Charles the Hardy**. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 1433-1477. He was the foe of Louis XI.

93 : 13. **Pythagoras**. A celebrated Greek philosopher, born at Samos about B.C. 590. He supported the theory of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls into varying bodies. Compare Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, Sc. 1 :—

"Thou almost mak'st me waver in my faith,
To hold opinion with Pythagoras,

That souls of animals infuse themselves
Into the trunks of men."

and *Twelfth Night*, Act IV, Sc. 2: —

"*Clown*. What is the opinion of Pythagoras concerning wild fowl?

"*Malvolio*. That the soul of our grandam might happily inhabit a bird.

"*Clown*. What thinkest thou of his opinion?

"*Malvolio*. I think nobly of the soul, and no way approve his opinion."

93:17. **admirable**. Wonderful.

93:29. **praying in aid**. Seeking the assistance.

94:21. **Themistocles**. An Athenian statesman and leader. He lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

94:22. **cloth of Arras**. Tapestry (made chiefly in the town of Arras, hence the name, 'arras').

94:23. **put abroad**. Unfolded; spread out.

95:2. **statua**. Statue. So elsewhere in Bacon, and once in Shakespeare.

95:7. **Heraclitus**. A Greek philosopher, born at Ephesus about 535 B.C., died about 475 B.C.

95:8. **Dry**. Clear; uncoloured by the senses or feelings.

95:25. **flat**. Tame; dull; insipid. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act I, Sc. 2: —

"How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world!"

96:3. **St. James**. In his epistle, i. 23, 24.

96:12. **fond**. Foolish.

96:13. **when all is done**. Nevertheless; after all

96:23. **bowed and crooked to some ends**. Compare from Emerson's essay on *Friendship*: "Let me be alone to the end of the world, rather than that my friend should overstep, by a

word or a look, his real sympathy. I am equally balked by antagonism and by compliance. Let him not cease an instant to be himself. The only joy I have in his being mine is that the *not mine* is *mine*. I hate, where I looked for a manly furtherance, or at least a manly resistance, to find a mush of concession. Better be a nettle in the side of your friend than his echo."

97: 2. **kill the patient.** Bacon's humour is the more effective for its infrequency and unexpectedness. Compare with this passage Essay XXX. page 114. lines 4-6.

97: 6. **scattered counsels.** Suggestions from various sources

97: 14. **to life.** To (the) life.

97: 15. **cast.** Count.

97: 18. **another himself.** Aristotle used such an expression. Compare again Emerson on *Friendship*: "A friend, therefore, is a sort of paradox in nature. I who alone am. I who see nothing in nature whose existence I can affirm with equal evidence to my own, behold now the semblance of my being in all its height, variety, and curiosity, reiterated in a foreign form; so that a friend may well be reckoned the masterpiece of nature."

97: 19. **their time.** Their last day; their appointed moment of death. Compare Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*: "She suddenly thought one afternoon, when looking in the glass at her fairness, that there was yet another date, of greater importance to her than those; that of her own death, when all these charms would have disappeared; a day which lay sly and unseen among all the other days of the year, giving no sign or sound when she annually passed over it; but none the less surely there."

98: 1. **A man can scarce allege.** Bacon himself, though punctiliously courteous, was not, it must be confessed, peculiarly backward in valuating and even recommending himself.

98 : 6. proper. Peculiar.

98 : 9. terms. Of dignity and honour.

98 : 13. his own part. Compare *Hamlet*, Act V, Sc. 2:—

“Horatio, I am dead;
Thou livest: report me and my cause aright
To the unsatisfied.”

XXVIII. OF EXPENSE

(1597. Enlarged, 1612 and 1625)

98 : 15. spending. Understand ‘is.’

98 : 18. voluntary undoing. Accepted poverty. Compare Matt. xix. 21.

98 : 22. abuse of servants. The Lord Chancellor Bacon’s servants were not models in this regard, nor were they as strictly controlled as their master’s best interests required. His mother chided him in this respect.

99 : 4. doubting. Dreading; fearing.

99 : 11. certainties. Definitely fixed receipts and expenses.

99 : 15. hall. Perhaps the house as distinguished from the stable; perhaps the ‘servants’ hall.’

99 : 18. may as well. Not ‘indifferently,’ but ‘as surely.’

99 : 22. his customs. Those that had previously occasioned the “straits.”

XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES

(1612. Re-cast and greatly enlarged, 1625)

This essay is of especial importance as reflecting Bacon’s ideas of direction and expediency in politics. Machiavelli’s influence is often apparent. Bacon largely identifies “true

greatness" with persistent, inevitable, and widening 'imperialism,' keyed to the spirit of responsibility.

100 : 1. *Themistocles*. See note on page 94, line 21.

100 : 4. *censure*. Judgment ; opinion.

100 : 7. *holpen*. See note on page 84, line 6. *metaphor*. A carrying over ; a re-applying.

100 : 15. *gift*. Note the humour.

100 : 25. *negotii paret*. 'Able to manage affairs.' *manage*. A rider's word, — control.

101 : 6. *argument*. Subject.

101 : 13. *doth fall under*. Is subject to.

101 : 16. *cards*. Charts.

101 : 22. *mustard-seed*. See Matt. xiii. 31.

102 : 2. *stout*. Bold.

102 : 4. *Virgil*. P. Vergilius Maro, B.C. 70-19, was a great Latin poet, author of the *Eclogues*, the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics*, and the *Æneid*. He was aided and highly regarded by Mæcenas (see note on page 92, line 4) and the Emperor Augustus. The passage cited is from the Seventh Eclogue.

102 : 6. *Arbela*. The battle was fought B.C. 330.

102 : 8. *Alexander's*. See note on page 63, line 25.

102 : 11. *Tigranes*. King of Armenia, reigning B.C. 96-56. He made an alliance with Mithridates, king of Pontus. He was defeated by the Romans under Lucullus at Tigranocerta, B.C. 68, and again by Pompey in B.C. 66.

102 : 24. *trivially*. Tritely.

102 : 25. *Solon*. A great lawgiver of Athens. Lived B.C. 638-559. He was made archon and prime legislator.

102 : 26. *Croesus*. King of Lydia, succeeding his father Alyattes in B.C. 560. He conquered many peoples and became enormously rich. He was finally overthrown by Cyrus of Persia B.C. 546.

103 : 3. *they*. The antecedent is 'subjects.'

103 : 8. **mew.** Moul.

103 : 9. **Judah and Issachar.** See Gen. xlix.

103 : 16. **excises.** A reference to the war taxes levied in the Netherlands to support hostilities with Spain.

103 : 17. **subsidies.** Amounts appropriated by Parliament.

103 : 25. **nobility and gentlemen.** See Essay XIX, page 67, lines 12-29.

103 : 29. **coppice.** Or, copse. A wood formed of trees of slight growth cut from time to time for fuel. **staddles.** Young trees left standing after the underwood has been cleared away.

104 : 3. **hundred poll.** Hundredth head.

104 : 10. **in regard.** Because.

104 : 22. "Terra," etc. 'A land mighty in battle and in fruitfulness of soil.'

105 : 7. **Nebuchadnezzar's tree.** See Dan. iv. 10.

105 : 17. **nice.** Fastidious ; exclusive.

105 : 19. **becomen.** So 'holpen' and 'gotten' in Bacon.

105 : 23. **sorted.** Resulted ; turned out.

105 : 26. "**jus civitatis.**" 'The right of citizenship.'

105 : 27. "**jus commercii,**" etc. 'The rights of commerce, of marriage, of inheritance.'

105 : 28. "**jus suffragii.**" 'The right of the franchise.'

105 : 29. "**jus honorum.**" 'The right of public office.'

Singular. Single.

106 : 2. **colonies.** Roman military posts, which sometimes became the nuclei for little states. They were seldom successful, in the modern idea of colonizing, lacking adaptability.

106 : 4. **both constitutions.** Naturalization and colonization.

106 : 11. **great body of a tree.** Compare the reference to Nebuchadnezzar's tree, page 105, line 7.

106 : 19. **Pragmatical Sanction.** Philip IV. of Spain published a decree, or *Pragmatica*, 1622, giving encouragement to persons who should marry, and especial privileges to the fathers

of six children. Other countries, in need of population, have had similar laws. One is still (August, 1906) operative in the Province of Quebec, Canada.

106 : 27. **advantage.** When considered from the economic and military points of view. The disadvantages are not here pertinent to Bacon's argument.

106 : 29. **rid.** Settle the question of.

107 : 4. **vulgar natives.** Or, as we say, 'common people.'

107 : 13. **habilitations.** Trainings.

107 : 14. **Romulus.** The traditional founder of Rome. He was a son of Mars and twin brother of Remus.

107 : 15. **present.** An advised policy; compare our legal phrase, "By these presents."

107 : 16. **intend.** Profess.

107 : 20. **scope.** Object; purpose.

107 : 21. **flash.** Moment; a little while.

107 : 24. **declination.** Decline.

107 : 27. **stood upon.** Discussed further; elaborated.

107 : 30. **their.** The use of the plural pronoun after the singular noun, its antecedent, is common in Bacon and in Elizabethan English.

108 : 1. **oracle of time.** Teaching of history.

108 : 10. **pretended.** Employed as justifying causes of war.

108 : 14. **quarrels.** Occasions; causes. Compare Essay VIII, page 23, line 29.

108 : 25. **prest.** Prompt; ready.

108 : 26. **confederates.** Allies.

109 : 3. **tacit conformity of estate.** A spirit of political sympathy; or a *rapprochement* between states, as between individuals. There is a suggestion also of one country's willingness to extend the influence of its own ideals and methods of government whenever opportunity should seem ripe.

109 : 14. **natural body or politic.** Individual or state.

109 : 19. *effeminate*. Grow soft or womanlike.

109 : 22. *maketh to be still*. Is profitable to be always.

109 : 23. *chargeable*. Expensive.

109 : 25. *the law*. The deciding power ; right to arbitrate ; paramountcy.

109 : 30. *abridgment of a monarchy*. A kingdom in little. Cicero. See note on page 57, line 11. *Atticus*. T. Pomponius Atticus was a virtuous Roman knight, to whom Cicero addressed many letters. Pompey. See note on page 82, line 23.

110 : 1. *Cæsar*. See note on page 91, line 19. "*Consilium*," etc. 'Pompey's plan is quite Themistoclean, for he thinks that whoever commands the sea commands the entire situation.'

110 : 6. *Actium*. Here Antony was defeated by Octavianus (Augustus), B.C. 31.

110 : 8. *Lepanto*. Turkey's navy was shattered in this battle, 1571, by the combined papal, Spanish, and Venetian strengths.

110 : 10. *final to the war*. The deciding contests. Compare Japan's recent victory over Russia.

110 : 11. *set up their rest*. Staking all on one 'hand.'

110 : 14. *as he will*. In his *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, Mr. Frederic Harrison tells us that in 1761 Great Britain had "absolute dominion of the seas to an extent hardly ever equalled before or since. . . . England was perfectly secure at home, whilst she held the commerce of the seas and all transoceanic settlements within her grasp. No other nation possessed even the nucleus of marine power, and all were debarred from reaching such colonies as they retained." And again : "Had George II. lived a few years longer, had Pitt maintained his health, his influence with the King, Parliament, and the nation, it was quite probable that every possession of France, Spain, or Holland, outside of Europe, would have passed to the British Crown, and that these countries would have been forced to make peace on terms of extreme humiliation."

110: 19. merely. Entirely.

111: 5. personal. Given to single individuals for acts of unusual heroism. style. Appellation; title.

111: 7. triumphs. Processions through Rome to the Temple of Jupiter, in honour of successful generals.

111: 12. gaudery. Boastful display.

111: 19. inappropriate. Appropriate.

111: 22. ensigns. Decorations.

111: 25. Scripture. See Matt. vi. 27.

111: 26. model. A miniature of "the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths."

XXX. OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH

(1597. A paragraph added, 1612. Enlarged, 1625)

"Regiment" is here used in the sense of 'regimen,' — control, systematic management. Compare Fletcher's *Two Noble Kinsmen*, Act IV, Sc. 3: "This may bring her to eat, to sleep, and reduce what's now out of square with her into their former law and regiment."

112: 13. still. Always.

112: 14. age will not be defied. Compare O. W. Holmes's *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*: "What is the use of fighting against the seasons, or the tides, or the movements of the planetary bodies, or this ebb in the wave of life that flows through us? We are old fellows from the moment the fire begins to go out. Let us always behave like gentlemen when we are introduced to new acquaintances. . . . We have settled when old age begins. Like all Nature's processes, it is gentle and gradual in its approaches, strewed with illusions, and all its little griefs are soothed by natural sedatives. But the iron hand is not less irresistible because it wears the velvet glove."

112: 18. *than one*. The meaning is, that if a change is decided upon it should be a change affecting several interests at once rather than one only.

112: 24. *particularly*. In your own case.

113: 3. *envy*, etc. This dispassionate advice is another testimony to Bacon's equable temperament.

113: 18. *accident*. Symptom. Bacon's own bodily constitution was not strong, and he watched himself perhaps over-closely in the particulars named.

113: 19. *respect*. Consider.

113: 20. *action*. Exercise. *put*. Require; constrain.

113: 22. *tendering*. Careful attention; nursing.

113: 23. *Celsus*. Aulus Cornelius Celsus, a physician in the time of Tiberius, who wrote exhaustively of oratory, farming, jurisprudence, medicine, military art, and philosophy. The eight books on medicine are alone extant.

114: 1. *masteries*. Control of the physical functions.

114: 2. *pleasing*. Willing to please; indulgent.

114: 5. *according to art*, etc. Compare Essay XXVII, page 96, line 27, page 97, line 2. Compare also Chaucer's doctor in the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*:—

“The cause y-knowe, and of his harm the rote,
Anon he yaf the seke man his bote.”

XXXI. OF SUSPICION

(1625)

114: 18. *guarded*. Controlled.

114: 16. *check*. Interfere.

114: 16. *currently*. Like a current; smoothly.

114: 19. *heart*. Courage.

114: 20. *stoutest*. Bravest.

114: 22. *composition*. Temperament.

116 : 4. What would men have ? etc. A significant recognition by the prudential Bacon, at the end of his career, of the less pleasing realities of human character. The touch of bitterness is not, however, representative.

116 : 14. buzzes. Passing murmurs.

116 : 19. he. The antecedent is to be understood.

116 : 22. would. Should.

116 : 26. "Sospetto licentia fede." 'Suspicion gives license to faith,' that is, releases men from the obligation to be sincere and honourable.

XXXII. OF DISCOURSE

(1597. Enlarged, 1612; again, 1625)

116 : 4. what might be said. Compare Addison's paper (No. 122) in *The Spectator* : "My friend Sir Roger heard them both, upon a round trot; and after having paused some time, told them, with the air of a man who would not give his judgment rashly, that *much might be said on both sides*."

116 : 6. commonplaces and themes. Stock subjects of discourse.

116 : 10. moderate. Control.

116 : 11. leads the dance. Gracefully guides the conversation.

116 : 13. intermingle. etc. Relieve the discussion of local topics with more important intellectual matters.

116 : 16. jade. Overwork.

116 : 18. privileged. Exempted by common consent.

116 : 21. any case that deserveth pity. Bacon's contemporaries were less sensitive in this respect than men of to-day. The race has grown—though slowly—in sympathy and its expressions. We do not find misfortune funny as often as did the Elizabethans.

116 : 24. would. Ought to.

116:25. "Parce," etc. 'Spare the whip, boy, and pull harder at the reins.' From Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, II, 127.

116:27. saltiness. Wit.

117:4. content. Give pleasure.

117:5. skill. The peculiar knowledge or specialty. Rawley says of Bacon that "he would draw a man on and allow him to speak upon such a subject, as wherein he was peculiarly skilful and would delight to speak."

117:9. poser. Formal examiner ; question-putter.

117:14. galliards. A French dance of vigorous measure, for two persons. Compare Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, Act I, Sc. 3:—

"Sir Toby. What is thy excellence in a galliard, knight ?

Sir Andrew. Faith, I can cut a caper."

117:15. dissemble, etc. 'If you sometimes pretend not to know what you really do know, this practice will turn out to your advantage, for your ignorance in other instances will appear to be similar modesty.' A rather frank expression of worldly wisdom.

117:18. of. Concerning.

117:25. touch. Personal import.

118:2. dry blow. A jest based on a personality.

118:6. agreeably. Suitably ; acceptably.

118:8. A good continued speech, etc. The meaning is, 'Ability to speak at length, if unsupported by good conversational ability, has the advantage of rapidity, like the greyhound, but the disadvantage of slowness "in the turn" ; while quickness of rejoinder in conversation, unaccompanied by power to elaborate an idea, though showing the nimbleness of the running hare, exhibits also the hare's weakness.'

118:14. circumstances. Considerations.

XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS

(1625)

118 : 17. **Plantations.** Colonies.

119 : 4. **profit.** Bacon's imperialism is of a patriotic, not a commercial, type. He anticipates here precisely the lowness and weakness of that 'Tory' point of view which lost for Georgian England her American colonies.

119 : 13. **certify.** Write accounts. Compare the early history of the Virginia colony.

119 : 20. **of itself.** That is, indigenously.

119 : 23. **esculent.** Eatable.

119 : 26. **maize.** The English term for corn.

120 : 9. **certain.** Definite ; fixed.

120 : 14. **manure.** Cultivate.

120 : 15. **his own private.** Himself.

120 : 21. **Virginia.** Settled at Jamestown, 1606.

120 : 22. **one.** That is, of the commodities mentioned above.

120 : 24. **brave.** Fine ; excellent.

120 : 26. **would.** Should. Growing silk. Vegetable silk.

121 : 1. **moll.** Toil ; work. Compare 'turmoil.'

121 : 12. **undertakers.** Contractors.

121 : 16. **freedoms from custom.** Exemptions from the payment of duties on exports or imports.

121 : 19. **make their best of them.** Sell them to most advantage.

121 : 22. **how they waste.** How they dwindle in population.

121 : 25. **surcharge.** Overplus of population.

121 : 28. **marish.** Marshy.

121 : 30. **still.** Always.

122 : 6. **gingles.** Jingles ; rattles.

122 : 10. **it is not amiss.** That is, to offer and provide assistance against their enemies when friendly savages are attacked.

122 : 17. *destitute*. Abandon.

123 : 19. *commiserable*. Unfortunate ; miserable.

XXXIV. OF RICHES

(1612. Much enlarged, 1625)

123 : 22. "*impedimenta*." 'Baggage.'

123 : 1. *conceit*. Fancy ; illusion.

123 : 2. *Solomon*. See Eccl. v. 11.

123 : 5. *to feel great riches*. After sufficient wealth has been secured to satisfy every personal desire, additional income will not be 'felt' as affecting one's individual good.

123 : 8. *feigned*. Fanciful.

123 : 10. *because*. In order that.

123 : 13. *Solomon*. See Prov. xviii. 11.

123 : 18. *proud riches*. Wealth for wealth's sake.

123 : 21. *Cicero*. See note on page 57, line 11.

123 : 22. *Rabirius Posthumus*. Defended by Cicero when accused by the Tribune Labienus of complicity in the killing of Saturninus. "*in studio*," etc. 'In the endeavour to increase his estate it was manifest that he sought not the spoil of avarice, but a means of beneficence.'

123 : 25. *Solomon*. See Prov. xxviii. 20.

123 : 26. "*Qui festinat*," etc. 'He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be unpunished.'

123 : 27. *Plutus*. The god of riches, son of Jason and Ceres.

123 : 28. *Jupiter*. See note on page 51, line 7.

123 : 29. *Pluto*. See note on page 75, line 23.

124 : 7. *upon speed*. Compare Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, Act III, Sc. 2 :—

". . . Pluto, the god of riches,
When he's sent by Jupiter to any man,

He goes limping, to signify that wealth
That comes on God's name comes slowly ; but when he's sent
On the devil's errand, he rides post and comes in by scuttles."

124 : 17. greatest audits of any man. In our day false syntax. Why ? Give the correct form.

124 : 24. stock, etc. As a man's resources increase, so do his opportunities of gain. Compare George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, Book I, Chapter XII : " Ay, ay ; money's a good egg ; and if you've got money to leave behind you, lay it in a warm nest."

124 : 26. overcome. Secure ; command.

124 : 29. mainly. Greatly.

125 : 5. broke. Deal ; negotiate.

125 : 7. chapmen. Buyers.

125 : 8. naught. Naughty ; bad.

125 : 11. upon the seller and upon the buyer. The original seller and the final buyer, the 'middleman' profiting by both.

125 : 13. Usury. See Essay XLI.

125 : 15. "in sudore," etc. "In the sweat of another's brow."

125 : 17. scriveners and brokers. Financial agents.

125 : 18. value. Recommend as good risks.

125 : 19. invention. Discovery.

125 : 22. Canaries. The sugar trade in the Canaries took its rise in 1507.

125 : 23. the true logician. In Book II of *The Advancement of Learning*, Bacon asserts that "The arts intellectual are four in number ; divided according to the ends whereunto they are referred : for man's labour is to invent that which is sought or propounded : or to judge that which is invented : or to retain that which is judged : or to deliver over that which is retained."

125 : 28. guard, etc. Protect one's self in speculative enterprises by investing enough in a conservative, legitimate way to offset any possible loss.

125 : 30. coemption. Buying up.

126 : 8. Tacitus. See note on page 5, line 27. Seneca. See note on page 5, line 16.

126 : 9. "Testamenta," etc. 'He landed wills and wardships as though taken with nets.' See the *Annals*, XII, 42.

126 : 14. none worse. Than these affected scorers of wealth.

126 : 15. riches have wings. Compare Prov. xxiii. 5. Note the humorous turn that follows.

126 : 22. the better, etc. Stronger in will and judgment on account of his wealth.

126 : 23. glorious. Ostentatious ; vainglorious.

126 : 26. advancements. Gifts.

126 : 27. frame them by measure. Bestow them equitably.

126 : 28. till death. Note Mr. Andrew Carnegie as an interesting contemporary example of the rich man who makes benefaction a business of life rather than of death. He has given away (up to August, 1905) about \$115,000,000.

XXXV. OF PROPHECIES

(1625)

127 : 2. natural predictions. Those made in accordance with a knowledge of the laws of nature. Compare the moon's phases, eclipses, etc.

127 : 4. Pythonissa. Apollo, giver of oracles, was called the Pythian. Pythonissa, accordingly, refers to a prophetess. See the narrative in 1 Sam. xxviii. 7-25.

127 : 6. Homer. Greatest of Greek poets, supposed to have been born in Smyrna and to have died on the island of Ios. Herodotus gives B.C. 850 as representing the time in which he lived, but later and earlier dates are given. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, attributed to him, may have become welded into a composite after passing through many transitional stages, in

which case the authorship would be multiform. Whether Homer actually existed or not, it seems probable that some one great poet is responsible for the core of the *Iliad*. The lines quoted are from Vergil's *Æneid*, III, 97, transcribed from the *Iliad*, XX, 307, 308.

127 : 7. "At domus," etc. 'But now the house of Æneas shall reign over every shore, and his children's children, and whosoever shall succeed them.'

127 : 10. Seneca. See note on page 5, line 16. The passage is quoted from the *Medea*, II, 374-378.

127 : 11. "Venient annis," etc. 'In far-distant years shall come the ages when ocean shall loose the bands of the world, and the vast globe shall be discovered, and Tiphys shall show new worlds ; nor shall Thule be the end of the earth.' Tiphys was a mythological pilot.

127 : 18. Polycrates. Tyrant of Samos, B.C. 536-522. He was a patron of the arts, and is said by Herodotus to have had the most persistent good fortune, exposing him to the envy of the gods. Jupiter. See note on page 51, line 7.

127 : 19. Apollo. See note on page 55, line 26.

127 : 24. Aristander. A famous soothsayer under Alexander the Great.

127 : 27. phantasm. See Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, Act IV, Sc. 3. Brutus. See note on page 91, line 20.

128 : 1. "Philippis," etc. 'Thou shalt see me again at Philippi.' Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Antony and Octavius at Philippi, and Brutus destroyed himself.

128 : 2. Tiberius. See note on page 5, line 26. Galba. See note on page 5, line 30. "Tu quoque," etc. 'Thou also, Galba, shalt taste of empire.' Tacitus' *Annals*, VI, 20.

128 : 3. Vespasian's. See note on page 5, line 28.

128 : 7. Tacitus. See note on page 5, line 27. Domitian. See note on page 63, line 13.

128 : 11. Henry VI. See Shakespeare's *Henry VI.*, Part III, Act IV, Sc. 6.

128 : 21. slain. Henry II. of France lost his life through an accident at a tournament in 1559.

128 : 22. beaver. The lower portion of the armoured head-gear worn in mediæval times. Compare Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, Part II, Act IV, Sc. 1 : —

“Their armed staves in charge, their beavers down,
Their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel.”

128 : 23. trivial. Common.

129 : 4. style. Title.

129 : 8. the Baugh and the May. Mr. Wright says : “Mr. Daniel has suggested to me that the ‘Baugh’ is probably the Bass rock ; and the ‘May’ the Isle of May, in the Frith of Forth.”

129 : 16. Regiomontanus. Johannes Müller. The name means ‘Royal mount,’ and corresponds, therefore, to Königsberg (King’s hill), where Müller was born. The prediction was made in 1475.

129 : 17. “Octogesimus,” etc. ‘The eighty-eighth year shall be marvellous.’

129 : 21. Cleon’s. Cleon was an Athenian popular leader of the fifth century B.C. He fought the Spartans successfully at Pylos, 425, but was defeated and slain by Brasidas at Amphipolis. He is ridiculed by Aristophanes in *The Knights* and elsewhere.

130 : 3. sort. Way.

130 : 5. grace. Favourable consideration.

130 : 7. when they hit. Compare *The Advancement of Learning*, Book II : “For this purpose, let us consider the false appearances that are imposed upon us by the general nature of the mind, beholding them in an example of two ;

as first in that instance which is the root of all superstition, namely, that to the nature of the mind of all men it is consonant for the affirmative or active to effect, more than the negative or privative. So that a few times hitting, or presence, countervails oft-times failing, or absence ; as was well answered by Diagoras to him that showed him, in Neptune's temple, the great number of pictures of such as had escaped shipwreck, and had paid their vows to Neptune, saying, ' Advise now, you that think it folly to invoke Neptune in tempest.' ' Yea, but,' saith Diagoras, ' where are they painted that are drowned ? ' "

130: 18. Plato's. See note on page 55, line 20. *Atlanticus.*
The Critias of Plato.

XXXVI. OF AMBITION

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

Of Bacon's own ambition all his life is a testimony. The student will note his frankly and often expressed desire for advancement, and will feel also the nobility of his motive as expressed in the unpublished Latin preface to his treatise on *The Interpretation of Nature*: " For myself, my heart is not set upon any of those things which depend upon external accidents. I am not hunting for fame: I have no desire to found a sect, after the fashion of heresiarchs; and to look for any private gain from such an undertaking as this, I count both ridiculous and base. Enough for me the consciousness of well-deserving, and those real and effectual results with which Fortune itself cannot interfere." Further, from Essay XI " Of Great Place," page 34, lines 12 and 13: " But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring." Of all of Bacon's methods of rising it is not perhaps possible or necessary to approve, but it is of prime importance that we recognize the core of his purpose as sound.

130 : 24. **choler.** **humour.** See note on page 22, line 23.

131 : 1. **adust.** Inflamed, — a technical word of ancient medicine.

131 : 3. **still.** Always ; progressively.

131 : 7. **an evil eye.** Compare Matt. xx. 16. See also note on Essay IX, page 24, line 17.

131 : 14. **take order to.** Devise plans to.

131 : 21. **dispenseth with.** Pardons ; condones.

131 : 22. **a soldier without ambition.** Compare Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. Act III. Sc. 1 : —

" and ambition

The soldier's virtue, rather makes choice of loss,
Than gain which darkens him."

spurs. Compare Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Act I, Sc. 7 : —

" I have no spur

To prick the sides of my intent ; but only
Vaulting ambition, which o'er-leaps itself,
And falls on the other."

Compare also Milton's *Lycidas*, line 703 : —

" Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise."

131 : 25. **seeled.** Having its eyelids drawn together by means of a fine thread.

131 : 28. **Tiberius.** See note on page 5, line 26.

131 : 29. **Macro.** Successor of Sejanus as commander of the prætorian guards. **Sejanus.** Favourite of the emperor Tiberius, who was sentenced to death by the Senate at the emperor's instance, A.D. 31, for conspiracy against the imperial power.

132 : 1. **resteth.** Remains.

132 : 8. **favourites.** Compare Bacon's regard for Buckingham, his famous letter of advice to Buckingham on the duties and opportunities of a favourite, and the closeness of their rela-

tion. It was indeed "impossible that any other should be over-great."

133 : 16. *inure*. Habituate ; accustom.

133 : 18. *obnoxious*. Liable.

133 : 21. *prove dangerous*. Possibly a reference to *Essex*. See the Introduction, pages xiii-xxi. Compare also lines 21-26.

133 : 2. *dependances*. Retinue ; following.

133 : 7. *to do good*. Compare Essay XI, page 84, lines 12, 13.

133 : 14. *sensible of*. Concerned with ; responsive to.

133 : 15. *bravery*. Boastfulness.

133 : 16. *busy*. Inquisitive ; meddling. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act III, Sc. 4 :—

"Thou find'st to be too busy is some danger."

XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS

(1625)

The masque was very popular during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and Bacon shared this interest so heartily that he himself devised and managed several such spectacles. The recognized purpose of the masque was to celebrate some important occasion connected with the lives of royalty or nobility, the actors, for the most part, being themselves royal or noble. The masque was rather, however, a glorified allegory than a significant art product. Ben Jonson and John Fletcher were its early masters. Milton's *Comus* is the last notable example in English literature.

133 : 17. *toys*. Trifles.

133 : 18. *But yet*, etc. Bacon the philosopher to Bacon the artist.

133 : 20. *daubed with cost*. Made overspectacular and unreasonably expensive.

133 : 23. aloft. In a raised gallery at the end of the hall or chamber. **broken music.** Music produced by instruments related in other ways than according to the idea of a 'consort,' or set of four.

133 : 24. ditty. Song. **Device.** Spectacle.

133 : 26. not dancing. That is, not dancing 'in song'; not accompanying *one's self* with singing or music.

134 : 1. would. Should.

134 : 3. dainty. Pretty.

134 : 5. by catches. One after another, at stated intervals. **anthem-wise.** After the manner of the anthem, or *antiphon*, — alternate voices.

134 : 6. Turning dances into figure. Making them conform to difficult and varying geometrical devices. The protest is less against the figured dance, it would seem, than against inartistic excesses therein. Compare page 133, lines 19 and 20.

134 : 16. the scene. The raised platform supporting the masquers in tableaux. **motions.** Dumb show.

134 : 19. to desire to see, etc. To exercise the imagination.

134 : 21. chirpings or pulings. A reference to the extreme youthfulness of some of the boys permitted to appear in such spectacles.

134 : 24. oes. Plural of 'o'; meaning here brightly coloured 'rounds.' **spangs.** Spangles.

134 : 30. anti-masques. Referring to a burlesque prologue setting off the real masque as a foil.

135 : 2. antiques. Antics; ridiculous clownish figures.

135 : 3. turquets. Possibly, 'little Turks.' **statuas.** Statues.

135 : 15. justs and tourneys. Jousts were combats between two individual champions; tournaments, combats between several on each side. **barriers.** Obstacles or boundaries in the centre of the lists so placed that the encounter could proceed

without bringing the horses together. The name was also applied to the encounter itself.

135:20. **bravery.** Display.

XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN

(1612. Enlarged and revised, 1625)

135:23. **Nature.** Human nature.

135:26. **importune.** Importunate.

136:9. **if the practice, etc.** If one requires more of himself by way of preparation than the actual occasion will require.

136:19. "**Optimus ille.**" etc. 'He is the best guardian of the mind who wrenches at once the gnawing chains from his breast, and grieves no longer.' From Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, line 293.

137:4. **lay.** Lie. So occasionally in Elizabethan English.

137:6. **Æsop's.** See note on page 41, line 8.

137:7. **board's end.** Table's end.

137:10. **put himself often to it.** Frequently and manfully face the temptation.

137:15. **sort with.** Are adapted to ; harmonize with.

137:16. "**Multum,**" etc. 'My soul hath long been a sojourner.' See Psalms cxx. 6, frequently quoted by Bacon. Note the autobiographical value of the passage.

137:17. **converse in.** Have to do with.

137:18. **affect.** Like ; prefer. Compare Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, Act I, Sc. 1 :—

"No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en;
In brief, sir, study what you most affect."

137:23. **spaces.** Intervals.

XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

138 : 2. inclination. Individual temper or disposition.

138 : 3. infused opinions. Those received from sources other than their own 'inclinations.'

138 : 4. after as. According as.

138 : 5. Machiavel. See note on page 18, line 24.

138 : 6. evil-favoured. Of ugly countenance. Machiavel's remark has reference to the choice of knaves, and is therefore sinister. See below.

138 : 7. bravery. Boastfulness.

138 : 8. corroborate. Strengthened.

138 : 13. friar Clement. Jacques Clément, 1566-1589. He was a French monk who assassinated Henry III. of France, August 1, 1589. He himself was immediately killed, and became one of the 'martyrs' of the church (1578-1610).

138 : 14. Ravallac. François Ravallac assassinated Henry IV. of France May 14, 1610. Jâureguy. He attempted to kill William the Silent, Prince of Orange, 1582. Baltazar Gerard. Assassinated William the Silent in 1584. All four of these miscreants were contemporaries of Bacon.

138 : 18. first blood. First experience in murder.

138 : 19. votary. Determined by a vow. equipollent. Possessing equal power ; equivalent.

138 : 27. the sect, etc. The Gymnosophists, an ancient sect of Hindus who devoted themselves to contemplation, and lived an ascetic hermit life.

139 : 6. queching. Flinching.

139 : 13. engaged. Enclosed ; bound.

139 : 24. take the ply. Incline in the desired direction. Compare Pope's *Moral Essays*, Epistle I, lines 149, 150 :—

" 'Tis education forms the common mind:
Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined."

140: 2. *comforteth*. Strengthens.

140: 4. *exaltation*. Zenith. The term 'exaltation' in astrology signified that the planet concerned was exercising its most powerful influence.

140: 10. *ends*. Bacon disliked to observe the growing temporal power of the Roman Catholic Church.

XL. OF FORTUNE

(1612. Slightly enlarged, 1625)

140: 14. "*Faber*," etc. 'Every man the builder of his own fortune.'

140: 15. *the poet*. Bacon attributed the origin of the phrase to Plautus.

140: 18. "*Serpens*," etc. 'In order to become a dragon a serpent must devour a serpent.'

140: 20. *apparent*. Conspicuous.

140: 22. *deliveries*. Ways of preventing unfortunate lapses; or, means of rescuing one's self from weak or false positions.

140: 24. *desemboltura*. Abbott explains this term as "(1) A turning of one's self inside out; (2) shamelessness; (3) facility of speaking."

140: 25. *stands*. Stands; hindrances.

141: 1. *Livy*. Titus Livius, B.C. 59-A.D. 17; born at Patavium. He was a great Roman historian.

141: 2. *Cato Major*. In his *De Senectute* or *Cato Major*, Cicero wrote in praise of old age in the person of Cato the censor. "*In illo viro*," etc. 'In this great man there was such vigour of body and of mind, that wheresoever he had been born, it seemed certain that he would have made his fortune.'

141 : 5. *versatile ingenium*. 'A versatile nature.'

141 : 16. "*poco di matto*." 'A little of the fool.'

141 : 24. *remover*. Unstable man.

141 : 25. *exercised*. Experienced ; thoroughly known.

142 : 1. *decline the envy*. Discourage the restless criticism.

142 : 5. *Cæsar*. See note on page 91, line 19.

142 : 6. "*Cæsarem portas*," etc. 'You carry Cæsar and his fortune.'

142 : 7. *Sylla*. See note on page 91, line 11. *felix*. 'Fortunate.' *magnus*. 'Great.'

142 : 10. *Timotheus*. An Athenian leader who died about B.C. 354. North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* tells us that Timotheus spoke as follows : " My Lords of Athens, *Fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told unto you*. Here-upon the gods, it should seeme, were so angry with this foolish ambition of Timotheus that he never afterwards did any worthy thing ; but all went utterly against the haire with him ; until at the length he came to be so hated of the people that in the end they banished him from Athens. But Sylla, to the contrary, did not only patiently abide their words that said he was a happy man and singularly beloved of Fortune, but also increasing this opinion and glorying as at a special grace of the gods, did attribute the honour of his doings unto Fortune, either for a vain glory, or for that he had in fancy that the gods did proeuer him in all his doings."

142 : 15. *Homer's*. See note on page 127, line 6.

142 : 17. *Plutarch*. See note on page 57, line 24.

142 : 18. *Timoleon's*. Timoleon was a famous Greek general and statesman. He died about B.C. 336. *Agésilas*. See note on page 26, line 5.

142 : 19. *Epaminondas*. B.C. 418-362. A Theban statesman and military leader.

142 : 20. *it is much in a man's self*. Depends chiefly on the

individual. Compare above: "But chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands." This is the cardinal proposition of the essay.

XLI. OF USURY

(1625)

The question of lending money at interest was a vexed one in Bacon's day, owing to the rapacity of the lenders and the high rates exacted. Indeed, it had long been an open question whether any rate whatever was ethical. Human sympathy has been generally on the side of the debtor, and there are many passages of literature, Biblical and post-Biblical, that present and condemn the character of the professional usurer as a preyer upon his neighbour's distresses. The restrictions and methods that govern commercial loanings and borrowings to-day are comparatively modern, and although Bacon appreciated the industrial necessity of 'usury', he is here working his way but slowly toward a sound economic basis therefor.

142: 21. **usury.** Lending money at interest.

142: 23. **tithe.** Or tenth part, set apart by the Mosaic code as each man's reasonable offering to God. Ten per cent. was the legal rate of interest under Henry VIII and Elizabeth. During Victoria's reign the law ceased to take cognizance of rates. In the United States the legal rate varies from five per cent., in Illinois, Louisiana, and Michigan, to ten per cent. in Idaho and Montana, but a number of states allow any rate specifically agreed upon by contract.

142: 24. **his plough,** etc. Compare Essay XXXIV, page 125, lines 18-16.

142: 25. **Virgil.** See note on page 102, line 4.

142: 27. "**Ignavum,**" etc. 'They drive the drones, an idle crowd, from the hives.' *Georgics*, IV, 1, 168.

143: 2. "In sudore," etc. 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread.'

143: 3. "In sudore," etc. 'In the sweat of another's brow.'

143: 5. orange-tawny. The Jews were required by law to wear 'yellow bonnets.' judaize. Imitate the usurious habits of the Jews.

143: 7. "concessum," etc. 'A thing granted because of the hardness of men's hearts.'

143: 11. suspicious. questionable. The early banks were not fortunate or popular.

143: 12. discovery of men's estates. The examination of men's incomes and sources of revenue in order to ascertain their relations as lenders or borrowers, and to control those relations.

143: 14. incommodities. inconveniences.

143: 23. vena porta. Gate vein. See note on page 67, line 30.

143: 25. sit. Be settled.

143: 29. customs. Revenues through taxation.

144: 8. purchasing. Acquiring landed estates. Compare Chaucer's *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, line 320: —

"His purchasyng myghte nat been infect."

144: 11. slug. Hindrance.

144: 20. stand. Cessation.

144: 25. foot. Just standard.

144: 26. gnaw. Compare Bacon's letter to Conway, 1623, concerning usury: "... how to grind the teeth of it, and yet to make it grind to his Majesty's mill in good sort, without discontent and perturbation."

144: 29. take pawns without use. Receive security without also requiring interest.

145: 10. Utopia. The title of a book written by Sir Thomas More and published in 1516. The word 'Utopia'

'Nowhere,' and is applied to an imaginary island upon which ideal social conditions obtain.

145:11. *reglement*. Regulation.

145:16. *tooth of usury*. Compare note above on page 144, line 26.

145:23. *will be to seek for*. Will be distressed for lack of.

146:4. *shut itself out to take*. Restrain itself from taking.

146:11. *edge*. Make attractive.

146:26. *answered*. Paid.

147:5. *colour*. Make appear as their own; borrow to lend again.

147:13. *declaration*. Open recognition conditioning strict control.

XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

147:14. *A man*, etc. Compare Bacon himself.

147:25. *Julius Cæsar*. See note on page 91, line 19. *Septimius Severus*. See note on page 6, line 2.

147:26. "*Juventutem*," etc. 'He passed a youth full of errors, nay of wild excesses.'

148:1. *And yet*, etc. Compare Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, Lyric 53:—

"How many a father have I seen,
A sober man, among his boys,
Whose youth was full of foolish noise,
Who wears his manhood hale and green ;

"And dare we to this fancy give,
That had the wild oat not been sown,
The soil, left barren, scarce had grown
The grain by which a man may live ?

"Or, if we held the doctrine sound
For life outliving heats of youth,

Yet who would preach it as a truth
To those that eddy round and round?"

148:4. Augustus Cæsar. See note on page 5, line 24. **Cosmus.** See note on page 13, line 20.

148:5. Gaston de Foix. Gaston de Foix, duc de Nemours (1489-1512), a son of Marie d'Orléans, sister of Louis XII. He was slain at Ravenna during a victorious campaign against the Spaniards and Italians.

148:7. composition. Mixture, as of 'age' and 'heat and vivacity.'

148:12. abuseth them. Fails to grasp and govern "new things" adequately, as contrasted with young men, who are "fitter for new projects."

148:16. manage. Management.

148:21. care not to. Inconsiderately; do not hesitate to.

148:22. at first. Unseasonably; they do not fit the strength of the remedy to the progress of the disease.

148:24. unready. Intractable.

148:28. period. Conclusion; end.

149:1. both. Old and young.

149:3. succession. The future.

149:5. extern. External.

149:9. Rabbin. Rabbi; master. Wright names Abrahanel in his commentary upon Joel. "Your young men," etc. See Joel ii. 28.

149:12. nearer to God. Compare Henry Vaughan's *The Retreat*:—

"Happy those early days, when I
Shined in my Angel-infancy!"

Thomas Hood's *I Remember*:—

"But now 'tis little joy
To know I'm farther off from heaven
Than when I was a boy."

Byron's *Youth and Age* : —

" Oh, could I feel as I have felt, or be what I have been ! "

and Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* : —

" Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting ;
The Soul that rises with us, our life's **Star**,
 Hath had elsewhere its setting
 And cometh from afar ;
 Not in entire forgetfulness,
 And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
 From God, who is our home ;
Heaven lies about us in our infancy !
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
 Upon the growing Boy,
But he beholds the light, and whence it flows,
 He sees it in his joy ;
The Youth, who daily farther from the east
 Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
 And by the vision splendid
 Is on his way attended ;
At length the Man perceives it die away,
 And fade into the light of common day."

149:20. **Hermogenes**. He lived in the second half of the second century, a famous Greek rhetorician, son of Calippus of Tarsus.

149:26. **Tully**. Cicero. See note on page 57, line 11.
Hortensius. Quintus Hortensius (b.c. 114—50) was an eminent Roman orator, a contemporary of Cicero. "**Idem manebat.**" etc. 'He remained the same, though so to remain was unbecoming.'

149:30. **Scipio Africanus**. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major (b.c. 234—183) was a great Roman general, whose defeat of Hannibal at Zama, in 202, made him the dominant

figure in Rome. He became a popular hero and was created censor and consul. Losing favour, on account of the machinations of his enemies, he retired proudly and silently to Litternum, where he died. Livy. See note on page 141, line 1. "Ultima," etc. 'His end did not harmonize with his beginning.'

XLIII. OF BEAUTY

(1612. Slightly enlarged, 1625)

Bacon uses the word 'Beauty' in a very limited sense, referring to personal comeliness. There is hardly a hint of that idea which sees in beauty the agent and expression of truth. Contrast Emerson's much ampler treatment.

150 : 1. *Virtue*. Compare George Herbert's fine lines on *Virtue*, as attesting its sincerity and simplicity. Compare, also, from Emerson's *Essay, Beauty*: "Beauty rests on necessities. The line of beauty is the result of perfect economy."

150 : 5. almost. Generally.

150 : 9. great spirit. High ideals of life and conduct.

150 : 10. Augustus Cæsar. See note on page 5, line 24.

150 : 11. Titus Vespasianus. See note on page 5, line 28. Philip le Bel of France. Philip IV. (1268-1314), as son of Philip III., became king of France in 1285. On account of his personal beauty he was surnamed 'The Fair.'

150 : 12. Edward IV. of England. Became king in 1461 and died in 1483. He, like Philip, was at once handsome and brave. Alcibiades of Athens. A great Athenian general and political leader (B.C. 450-404), who was noted for his beauty and power. Ismael the Sophy. He became master of Persia in 1478.

150 : 15. favour. Feature. colour. Complexion.

150 : 21. Apelles. A mistake for Zeuxis, a Greek painter who lived at the close of the fifth century B.C. He applied the

'composite' principle to one of his most famous paintings, selecting five virgins. Apelles was another Greek painter of the time of Philip and Alexander. **Albert Dürer.** A German painter and engraver, 1471-1528. **more.** Greater.

150:22. **would.** Planned to; desired to.

151:3. **that.** Understand 'such' preceding.

151:5. **the principal part.** Compare from Emerson on *Beauty*: "For there are many beauties; as, of general nature, of the human face and form, of manners, of brain or method, moral beauty, or beauty of the soul."

151:7. **many times.** Frequently.

151:8. "**Pulchrorum,**" etc. 'Beautiful is the autumn of the beautiful.'

151:9. **but by pardon.** Unless his youth be overlooked.

151:14. **light well.** Alight upon one worthy of it.

XLIV. OF DEFORMITY

(1612. Last sentence slightly changed, 1625)

It is sometimes said that in this essay Bacon has drawn the portrait of his cousin, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. The only evidence of this, however, is found in a letter written by Chamberlain Sir Dudley Carleton, December 17, 1612, shortly after the appearance of the second edition of the *Essays*: "Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new 'Essays,' where, in a chapter on Deformity, the world takes notice that he points out his little cousin to the life."

151:23 "**Ubi peccat,**" etc. See preceding context. But **because,** etc. The meaning is: Because a man's attitude and character are determined by his own will, even though he has no control of his bodily appearance, the effect arising from the conjunction of planets at his birth may be overcome by

the strength of his personal goodness. Compare Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, Act III, sc. 4:—

"In Nature there's no blemish but the mind;
None can be call'd deform'd but the unkind."

153: 2. sign. Of evil character.

153: 6. a perpetual spur, etc. Compare from Emerson's essay on *Beauty*: "If a man can raise a small city to be a great kingdom, can make bread cheap, can irrigate deserts, can join oceans by canals, can subdue steam, can organize victory, can lead the opinions of mankind, can enlarge knowledge, 'tis no matter whether his nose is parallel to his spine, as it ought to be, or whether he has a nose at all; whether his legs are straight, or whether his legs are amputated; his deformities will come to be reckoned ornamental and advantageous on the whole."

153: 19. upon the matter. On the whole; taking all into account. wit. Mind.

153: 24. obnoxious. Servile. officious. Dutiful.

153: 25. spials. Spies. Compare Essay XI.VIII, page 169, line 24. Compare, also, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act III, Sc. 1:—

"Sweet Gertrude, leave us too;
For we have closely sent for Hamlet hither,
That he, as 'twere by accident, may here
Affront Ophelia.
Her father and myself, lawful espials,
Will so bestow ourselves that, seeing unseen,
We may of their encounter frankly judge," etc.

153: 27. reason. Condition; rule of life. Still. Always.

153: 2. Agasilans. See note on page 26, line 5. Zanger. He died with grief, A.D. 1553, at the execution of his brother by his father.

153: 3. Selyman. See note on page 65, line 30. Reop.

See note on page 41, line 8. **Gasca.** Pedro de la Gasca (1485-1567) was a Spanish lawyer. He was sent to Peru in 1546 as President of the Audience, to crush the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro. He succeeded, and left Peru quietly in 1550.

153: 4. Socrates. One of the most famous of the Greek philosophers. He was born about B.C. 470 and died 399.

XLV. OF BUILDING

(1625)

In this and the succeeding essay Bacon records some of the results of his own plans and observations, gained as master of the fine estate at Twickenham, given him by Essex, at Gorham-bury, and at York House.

153: 5. not to look on. That is, their use as dwellings must first be considered, and afterward their appearance and decoration. Bacon by no means despised the latter, as this essay and the following extract indicate: "There was never the like number of fair and stately houses as have been built and set up from the ground, since her majesty's reign." — *Observations on a Libel.*

153: 6. uniformity. Symmetry and correspondence were over-formal in Elizabethan architecture.

153: 8. houses for beauty only. Built only to be 'looked on

153: 10. ill seat. Unfavourable site.

153: 14. knap. Knob; knoll; little hill.

153: 20. ill ways. Bad roads.

153: 21. Momus. A god of the Greeks representing the spirit of censure and fault-finding. *Æsop* tells us that Momus derided Athene because she had neglected, in building a house, to provide it with wheels, that it might easily be removed from unpleasant neighbours.

154 : 2. commodity. Advantage. The Latin translation has '*nulla commoditas.*' The sense therefore is, that a 'seat' is 'ill' in so far as it is removed from a navigable river; or, that if it be too close to one it may suffer from the overflowing of the river.

154 : 5. lurcheth. Swallows; consumes.

154 : 11. sort. Plan; arrange.

154 : 13. Lucullus. Lucius Lucinius Lucullus. Born about B.C. 110, he died about 57. He became consul in 74, and thereafter defeated Mithridates and Tigranes. He built palatial villas at Tusculum and near Neapolis. **Pompey.** See note on page 82, line 23.

154 : 15. lightsome. Light.

154 : 21. Cicero. See note on page 57, line 11.

154 : 27. Vatican. Palace of the pope in Rome. It contains, so differing accounts have it, from 4,422 to 11,000 rooms, halls, etc., and covers an area of 1,151 by 767 feet. It contains also many famous and valuable paintings.

154 : 28. Escorial. Or, Escorial. A noted building standing twenty-seven miles northwest of Madrid, Spain. It contains a monastery, church, palace, and the mausoleum of the Spanish sovereigns, besides a fine library and paintings. It was begun by Philip II., 1563, and was completed in 1584. Its area is 780 by 620 feet.

155 : 1. several. Separate.

155 : 2. banquet. Dining-hall.

155 : 3. Hester. See Esther i. 5.

155 : 4. triumphs. Shows; entertainments. See Essay XXXVII.

155 : 5. returns. Turnings of the house toward the back; hence, sides of the court.

155 : 24. a goodly leads. A leaded roof.

155 : 25. statues interposed. Statues placed at regular intervals

155 : 28. **newel.** "A pillar of stone or wood, where the steps terminate in a winding staircase." The column to which the spiral movement conforms.

155 : 30. **point.** Appoint.

156 : 2. **shall.** Or, as we would say, 'will.' The student should carefully note the distinctive uses of these two auxiliary verbs. They may be found stated in almost any good grammar or rhetoric. An old mnemonic statement is given below : —

"In the first person simply 'shall' foretells,
In 'will' a threat or else a promise dwells;
'Shall' in the second and the third doth threat,
'Will' simply then foretells the future feat."

156 : 10. **cast into.** Contained within. on the outside. The phrase modifies 'turrets.'

156 : 16. **side alleys.** Paved walks bounding the court. **cross.** Similar walks bisecting each other, in the shape of a cross, from each side of a court.

156 : 17. **the quarters to graze.** The four sections of the court thus left to be turfed.

156 : 23. **chambers of presence.** Audience-chambers.

156 : 25. **a double house.** Having interior courts. See the succeeding phrase, and see also page 157, line 10.

156 : 27. **cast.** Arrange.

157 : 1. **become.** Come. Intensive. A rare use.

157 : 2. **embowed windows.** Bow windows.

157 : 21. **paved.** The paths around and across it only, the remainder being turfed.

157 : 24. **foresee.** Plan ; provide.

157 : 26. **antecamera.** Ante-chamber. **recamera.** Rear- or retiring-chamber.

157 : 28. **upon the ground-story.** This refers to the end of the inner court.

157: 29. the third story. 'On all three sides' is added in the Latin translation.

158: 8. avoidances. Outlets; means of escape for the water.

158: 12. same. Same size, as in the Latin.

158: 15. built. Surrounded by buildings.

XLVI. OF GARDENS

(1625)

158: 22. a garden. The Garden of Eden. See Genesis ii. 8-iii. 24.

158: 23. the purest. Compare T. E. Brown's lines on the beauty and 'godliness' of gardens:—

"A garden is a lovesome thing, God wot!
Rose plot,
Fringed pool,
Ferned grot,
The veriest school
Of peace; and yet the fool
Contentends that God is not—
Not God! in gardens! when the eve is cool?
Nay,—but I have a sign;
'Tis very sure God walks in mine."

— *My Garden.*

158: 27. civility. Civilization.

159: 9. pine-apple trees. Pines.

159: 12. stoved. Kept warm. warm set. So placed as to derive most benefit from the sun.

160: 2. ribes. Red currants.

160: 4. satyrian. Orchis.

160: 12. melocotones. A peach-like fruit.

160: 18. ver perpetuum. 'Eternal spring.'

160: 24. fast. Retentive.

161 : 2. **Bartholomew-tide.** August 24, the anniversary of the massacre of the Huguenots in Paris. 1572.

161 : 3. **musk-rose.** Let the student examine the beautiful flower passages in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Book III. Canto VI, Stanza 45) and Milton's *Lycidas*, noting how many flowers praised by these poets are also mentioned by Bacon.

161 : 5. **bent.** A coarse pliable grass.

161 : 17. **alleys.** Paths ; walks. From the French *aller*.

161 : 19. **For.** As for.

162 : 7. **covert.** Sheltered.

162 : 9. **knots.** Flower-beds.

162 : 12. **toys.** Trifles. Note the humour in the following suggestion.

162 : 15. **hedge.** A bounding fence of shrubs or bushes.

162 : 19. **entire.** Continuous.

162 : 26. **slope.** Sloping.

163 : 4. **letting.** Hindering. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act I, Sc. 4 :—

“Unhand me, gentlemen!

By heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that lets me.”

163 : 11. **busy.** Involved ; intricate. See the next phrase.

163 : 14. **welts.** Borders.

163 : 22. **perfect circles.** The ‘alleys’ are to be three, one at the top of each flight of steps. Each alley is to wind around the hill, and to be wide enough to accommodate four persons walking abreast.

163 : 24. **chimneys.** Fireplaces.

163 : 30. **receipt.** Receptacle.

164 : 22. **equality of bores.** Pipes corresponding in capacity to the feeding-pipes.

165 : 7. **wild thyme.** Note, among many flower passages in

Shakespeare, a similar though shorter catalogue, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II, Sc. 1:—

"I know a bank whereon the wild thyme blows,
Where ox-lips and the nodding violet grows;
Quite over-canopied with lush woodbine,
With sweet musk-roses and with eglantine."

165: 15. pricked. Planted.

165: 20. out of course. Shapelessly; carelessly.

165: 28. going wet. Walking in the wet. This is to be avoided by the gravelling of the alleys.

166: 1. would. Ought to.

166: 4. deceive. Defraud; deprive of their due nourishment.

166: 15. rest. Rely; depend.

166: 27. platform. Plan.

166: 29. some general lines. The outlines.

XLVII. OF NEGOTIATING

(1597. Enlarged, 1612 and 1625)

167: 7. mediation. Compare Essay XXVII, page 97, line 25 to page 98, line 11.

167: 11. danger. A probability.

167: 13. a man's face. Compare Essay VI, page 18, lines 3-6.

167: 14. tender. Delicate.

167: 18. disavow. Negatively, to clear up misapprehensions. expound. Positively, to push home his argument.

167: 20. plainer sort. Compare Essay XLIV, page 152, lines 21-27.

167: 22. success. Result.

167: 24. will help. Will gloss over any unpleasant news, in order to ingratiate themselves with their employer.

167 : 25. **affect.** Like.

168 : 4. **absurd.** Dull. See note on page 18, line 15. **bear out.** Justify.

168 : 8. **prescription.** First claim.

168 : 12. **men in appetite.** Men who seek to acquire or to be advanced.

168 : 14. **start.** That is, which of two men entering into an agreement is to perform his part first? The words "A man" and "he" refer to the one party to the agreement as opposed to the other.

168 : 21. **practice.** Diplomatic dealing with men; negotiation, used in a somewhat sinister sense. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act IV, Sc. 7:—

"You may choose
A sword unbated, and in a pass of practice
Requite him for your father."

168 : 22. **discover.** Uncover; reveal.

168 : 25. **work any man.** Compare our colloquial expression. A man 'worked' is controlled or directed unconsciously to himself.

169 : 1. **to interpret.** In interpreting.

XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS

(1597. Enlarged, 1612 and 1625)

This essay is not without autobiographical value. Bacon was never a hard master, and there is documentary evidence in records and letters for the statement that his servants often took advantage of his liberality.

169 : 7. **his train.** The metaphor refers to the peacock.

169 : 10. **importune.** Importunate.

169 : 11. **challenge.** Look for; expect.

169: 17. ill intelligence. Misunderstandings.

169: 18. glorious. Vainglorious; boastful.

169: 22. export honour, etc. Detract from his reputation and expose him to envy.

169: 24. espials. Spies. See note on page 152, line 25.

170: 1. officious, etc. Faithful in their regular tasks, and as free in reporting to their master as of him.

170: 2. estates. Ranks; degrees.

170: 6. civil. Befitting; desirable.

170: 7. too much pomp. Compare Essay XIX, page 67, lines 12-15.

170: 9. apprehendeth to. Understands how to.

170: 12. passable. Tolerable; commonplace; as being the more worldly in the inoffensive sense.

170: 14. virtuous. Able.

170: 18. in favour. In matters of personal grace and preference.

170: 23. hold out, etc. Maintain the exalted standard placed upon him.

170: 24. one. Compare Essay XXVII, page 91, lines 11, *et seq.*

170: 26. disreputation. Disrepute.

170: 29. them. their. The antecedent is 'a man.' Note the lack of agreement.

171: 5. little friendship. Compare Essay XXVII.

171: 8. comprehend. Include.

XLIX. OF SUITORS

(1597. Enlarged, 1612 and 1626)

171: 13. embrace suits. Undertake to support the suitor and to advance his interests.

171 : 16. **some other mean.** Some person or influence more sincere.

171 : 23. **entertainment.** Introduction.

172 : 5. **countenance.** Favour.

172 : 8. **depraving.** Accusing falsely. **Disabling.** Decrying.

172 : 13. **referendaries.** Referees.

172 : 14. **distasted.** Disgusted is the same word. **delays.** Compare Bacon's 'suits' for office, and his pathetic words to Fulke Greville : " For to be, as I told you, like a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again, and so *in infinitum*. I am weary of it."

172 : 15. **denying.** Declining. Note the excessive alliteration in this sentence, showing the influence of euphuism upon even Bacon's somewhat haughty and dignified style.

172 : 16. **success.** Result. **challenging.** Requiring; expecting.

172 : 18. **gracious.** Praiseworthy ; deserving of thanks.

172 : 19. **the first coming,** etc. A suitor's precedence in point of time ought not to predetermine one in his favour.

172 : 20. **his trust.** That is, the early suitor's.

172 : 23. **note.** Information.

172 : 24. **discovery.** Disclosure. The meaning is, that a just man who feels compelled to refuse another's petition will not take advantage of any information given him by the petitioner, to the latter's hurt, but will so act as to be worthy of trust, either by retaining a discreet silence or by encouraging the petitioner to use other means.

172 : 25. **of a suit.** Here, the object of a suit.

172 : 29. **voicing.** Announcing. **forwardness.** An advanced stage.

173 : 1. **timing.** Pressing at the opportune moment.

173 : 4. **mean.** Intermediary ; representative.

173 : 6. **certain.** Fixed ; definite. **general.** Over-versatile.

173 : 10. "**Iniquum.**" etc. 'Ask for more than is equitable, that you may get equity.'

173 : 13. **rise.** Increase his demands.

173 : 15. **favour.** That is, the value to himself of the suitor's goodwill for the "former favour."

173 : 17. **letter.** Commendation ; testimonial.

173 : 20. **general contrivers.** Common indiscriminating schemers.

L. OF STUDIES

(1597. Enlarged, 1612 and 1625)

Among the most admirable of the *Essays* in point of balanced phrasing and concisely powerful expression.

173 : 22. **delight.** Personal satisfaction.

173 : 23. **ability.** Making able.

173 : 24. **privateness and retiring.** Solitude and retreat.

173 : 26. **expert.** Experienced.

174 : 2. **plots.** There is no sinister meaning. Plans, simply.

174 : 6. **humour.** See note on page 22, line 23.

174 : 9. **proyning.** Pruning.

174 : 10. **at large.** Generally ; vaguely.

174 : 14. **without.** Outside ; beyond.

174 : 18. **to weigh and consider.** Bacon's own constant habit.

174 : 22. **curiously.** With too great care.

174 : 27. **flashy.** Insipid. Compare Milton's *Lycidas*, lines 123, 124 : —

"And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw."

174 : 28. **conference.** Conversation.

175 : 1. **present.** Quick ; alert.

175 : 4. **witty.** Ingenious.

175: 6. "Abeunt studia," etc. 'Studies translate themselves into character.' From Ovid's *Heroides*, XV, 83.

175: 7. **stond.** Stand; hindrance.

175: 8. **wit.** Mind.

175: 17. **schoolmen** See note on page 58, line 21. **cymini sectores.** 'Splitters of cummin-seeds' (very small seeds).

175: 18. **beat over.** Work quickly over the field of.

II. OF FACTION

(1597. A few lines added, 1612; much expanded, 1625)

175: 23. **estate.** Realm.

175: 24. **respect.** Interests; policy.

176: 1. **general.** Public; nonpartisan.

176: 3. **correspondence.** Consideration; adaptedness.

176: 6. **Mean.** Of low rank. **adhere.** Stick to a 'faction.'

176: 9. **which.** The antecedent is 'man.'

176: 10. **passable.** Tolerable.

176: 13. **stiff.** Uncompromising.

176: 17. **Lucullus.** See note on page 154, line 13.

176: 18. **optimates.** 'Aristocrats.'

176: 19. **Pompey.** See note on page 82, line 23. **Cæsar.** See note on page 91, line 19.

176: 22. **Antonius.** See note on page 31, line 7. **Octavianus Cæsar.** Augustus. See note on page 5, line 24. **Brutus.** See note on page 91, line 19.

176: 23. **Cassius.** Longinus Calus Cassius was a conspirator against Julius Cæsar, B.C. 44. He was defeated by Antony at Philippi in 42, and slew himself.

176: 28. **seconds.** Inferiors.

177: 4. **take in with.** Compare our colloquial 'take up with.'

177: 5. **belike.** Probably

- 177:6. **purchase.** Acquisition ; gain.
 177:7. **lightly, etc.** Easily takes the palm ; wins advantage.
 177:9. **casteth.** Decides.
 177:10. **even carriage.** Neutrality ; or, to use the colloquial American term, 'mugwumpery.'
 177:12. **trueness to a man's self.** Self-concern ; self-interest.
 177:13. **suspect.** Suspicious.
 177:15. **"Padre commune."** 'The common father.'
 177:18. **Kings.** Compare Essay XV, page 46, lines 17, et seq.
 177:23. **"tanquam unus," etc.** 'As one of us.'
 177:24. **league.** See note on page 46, line 22.
 177:31. **primum mobile.** See note on page 47, line 4.

LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS

(1597. Slightly enlarged, 1612 ; further, 1625)

178:3. **foil.** Appropriate ornamentation, revealing by its own lesser value the beauty of the object ornamented more fully than before. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act V, Sc. 2 : —

"I'll be your foil, Laertes: in mine ignorance
 Your skill shall, like a star i' the darkest night,
 Stick fiery off indeed."

178:12. **Queen Isabella.** She was born in 1451, at Madrigal, and died 1504. She was the daughter of John II. of Castile, and became queen in 1474, succeeding, with Ferdinand, her brother Henry IV. She married Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469, and was the patroness of Christopher Columbus, 1492.

- 178:23. **again.** In return ; for their part.
 178:25. **formal.** Precise ; punctillious.
 179:2. **conveying.** Implying, by means of tone.
 179:3. **imprinting.** Convincing.

- 179 : 7. **keep state.** Remember one's dignity.
 179 : 11. **apply one's self to.** Take an interest in.
 179 : 13. **facility.** A too easy politeness.
 179 : 14. **seconding.** Agreeing with ; supporting.
 179 : 22. **attribute.** Insincerity in compliment.
 179 : 24. **respects.** Polite forms of regard. **curious.** Careful.
 179 : 25. **Solomon.** See Eccl. xi. 4.
 179 : 30. **point device.** Precise ; exact. Compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Act I, Sc. 2 : —

“ A figure like your father,
 Armed at point, exactly, cap-a-pe,
 Appears before them.”

and *Twelfth Night*, Act II, Sc. 5 : — “ I will be point-devise the very man.”

LIII. OF PRAISE

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

180 : 3. **the common people.** Bacon was not a democrat in the extreme sense. He had not a high opinion of the intelligence or wisdom of the masses. “ I do not love the word *people*.”

180 : 10. **species virtutibus similes.** ‘Appearances resembling virtues.’

180 : 13. **quality.** Distinction.

180 : 14. **Scripture.** See Eccl. vii. 1.

180 : 15. “ **Nomen,**” etc. ‘A good name like unto a sweet ointment.’

180 : 20. **suspect.** Thing to be suspected.

180 : 21. **he.** The flatterer. Bacon frequently allows these *Atati*.

180 : 22. **common attributes.** Pleasing phrases which may fit any one.

181:2. out of countenance. Ashamed of; troubled concerning.

181:3. perforce. Insistently; emphatically. *spretā conscientia*. 'Despite your own conscience.'

181:6. *laudando præcipere*. 'To teach by praising.'

181:10. *pessimum*, etc. 'Those who praise are the worst kind of enemies.' See Tacitus' *Agricola*, 43.

181:11. a proverb. Compare Theocritus' *Idyll*, IX, 24: "I shall not raise a blister on your nose, by calling you beautiful."

181:12. push. Pimple.

181:15. vulgar. Common; indiscriminating.

181:16. Solomon. See Prov. xxvii. 14.

181:19. irritate. Quicken; provoke.

181:21. decent. Compare Essay XXVII, page 97, line 29, to page 98, line 4.

181:24. magnanimity. Since he raises the office above himself, the officer.

181:25. theologues. Theologians. schoolmen. See note on page 58, line 21.

181:29. *sbirrerie*. Italian *sbirro*, bailiff.

182:1. catch-poles. Bailiffs.

182:3. St. Paul. See 2 Cor. xi. 16, 23; xii. 11; Rom. i. 18.

182:5. "*Magnificabo*," etc. 'I will magnify my office.'

LIV. OF VAIN-GLORY

(1612. Enlarged, 1625)

182:6. prettily. Neatly. *Æsop*. See note on page 41, line 8.

182:9. alone. Proceeds without their personal furtherance.

182 : 10. upon greater means. By agents more important than themselves.

182 : 12. glorious. Vainglorious ; boastful.

182 : 13. bravery. Boasting ; braggadochio.

182 : 16. effectual. Effective. Compare Essay XLVIII, page 160, lines 18-23.

182 : 17. bruit. Sound ; noise.

182 : 19. civil. Here, as opposed to military. See page 183, line 8.

182 : 21. Titus Livius. See note on page 141, line 1.

182 : 22. Antiochus. Antiochus III. (B.C. 238-187), king of Syria, surnamed "the Great." He formed a compact with the Ætolians against the Romans, and entered Greece in B.C. 192. He was defeated at Thermopylae, and, after retreating to Asia, was again overcome at Magnesia, and was forced to cede to Rome all his territory in Europe and Asia Minor. **Ætolians.** A confederacy of several tribes of Central Greece. It persisted from about B.C. 323 to 167.

182 : 23. cross lies. Lies told to each of two or more persons of the other or others.

182 : 24. a man. Thoas did so in negotiating the alliance between the Ætolian League and Antiochus.

183 : 3. interest. Influence.

183 : 8. military commanders, etc. Compare Essay XXXVI, page 131, lines 19-22.

183 : 10. glory. Boasting.

183 : 12. composition. Combination. **glorious.** See note above on page 182, line 12.

183 : 16. "Qui de," etc. "Those who write books belittling the pursuit of fame [nevertheless] inscribe their names upon them." See Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, I, 16.

183 : 18. Socrates. See note on page 153, line 4. **Aristotle.** A great Greek philosopher, B.C. 384-322, pupil of Plato and

founder of the Peripatetic school. His influence upon science and philosophy has been extraordinary. **Galen.** A Greek physician and philosopher, born about A.D. 130.

183 : 21. beholding. Beholden; indebted. "Virtue" is the antecedent of both "it" and "his." The meaning is, that human nature is not on the alert to praise virtue, and may well be assisted or stimulated by the suggestions of virtue itself.

183 : 22. Cicero. See note on page 57, line 11.

183 : 23. Seneca. See note on page 5, line 16. **Plinius Secundus.** Pliny the Younger, Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, A.D. 62-113. A Roman author and publicist. His *Epistles* remain extant. They contain several instances of personal vanity, from which neither Cicero nor Seneca was wholly free.

183 : 25. seelings. Ceilings; originally, any 'sealed' or covered surface in the boundaries of a room.

183 : 28. Tacitus. See note on page 5, line 27.

183 : 29. "Omnium," etc. 'In all that he did or said he had the art of showing himself to the best advantage.' From Tacitus' *Histories*, II, 80.

184 : 3. cessions. Concessions.

184 : 9. wittily. Aptly; cleverly.

184 : 15. glorious. See note above on page 182, line 12.

LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

(1597. Omitted, 1612, though appearing in the Ms. Enlarged, 1625)

184 : 19. without disadvantage. That is, not as sought, neither as obscured.

184 : 20. affect. Aim at.

185 : 4. temper. Mix.

185 : 5. some one, etc. Note the ambiguity of the sentence. The meaning is, that one action or set of actions may please

one group, other actions another group. By thus 'tempering' his actions a man may eventually "content every faction or combination of people."

185 : 7. husband. Economist.

185 : 11. broken upon another. This anticipates the succeeding simile, "like diamonds cut with facets." Honour made sharp and brilliant at the expense of one's rival or competitor.

185 : 16. "Omnis fama," etc. 'All fame proceeds from servants.'

185 : 18. declaring. Making clear or plain.

185 : 22. the true marshalling. The ordered arrangement.

185 : 25. Romulus. The traditional founder of Rome. Cyrus. Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian Empire. Died B.C. 529. Caesar. See note on page 91, line 19.

185 : 26. Ottoman. Ottoman I., born A.D. 1259, founder of the present Turkish dynasty. Ismael. See note on page 150, line 12.

185 : 30. Lycurgus. Lived probably in the ninth century B.C. He is the traditional lawgiver of Sparta. Solon. See note on page 102, line 25. Justinian. Flavius Anicius Justinianus. Byzantine emperor, 527-565. He caused the compilation of the Justinian Code, a body of Roman law. Eadgar. 944-975. He became king of England in 958, ruling the whole people, though Dunstan, primate of Canterbury, exercised the real power. Green tells us that Cnut, who became king in 1014, "fell back on 'Eadgar's Law,' on the old constitution of the realm, for his rule of government."

186 : 1. Alphonsus of Castile. Alfonso, or Alphonso, X., 1221-1284, surnamed "the Wise." His fame depends chiefly upon his authorship of the code *Las Siete Partidas*, the foundation of Spanish jurisprudence. *Siete Partidas*. Literally, The Seven Parts, a digest of the laws of Spain. See preceding note.

186 : 2. liberatores. Liberators. salvatores. Saviours.

186 : 3. compound. Settle ; put an end to.

186 : 5. Augustus Cæsar. See note on page 5, line 24. *Vespasianus*. See note on page 5, line 28.

186 : 6. *Aurelianus*. Roman emperor, A.D. 270-275. He pacified several rebellious tribes. *Theodoricus*. A famous king of the East Goths. He invaded Italy in 488, and thrice defeated Odoacer, its oppressor. He then became joint ruler of Italy with Odoacer, whom he slew in 493, continuing to govern Italy with wisdom. *Henry the Seventh*. Put an end to the Wars of the Roses.

186 : 7. *Henry the Fourth*. He ended the struggle between Papists and Protestants in France, signing the Edict of Nantes, 1598. See note on page 14, line 3.

186 : 8. *propagatores*. 'Extenders.' *propugnatores imperii*. 'Defenders of empire.'

186 : 11. *patres patriæ*. 'Fathers of their country.'

186 : 16. *participes curarum*. 'Partners in cares.' See Essay XXVII, page 90, line 28, to page 91, line 3.

186 : 21. *favourites*. Used invidiously, as opposed to *participes curarum*.

186 : 22. *scantling*. Bound ; limit.

186 : 24. *negotii pares*. 'Men capable in affairs.'

186 : 29. *Regulus*. Marcus Atilius Regulus, a Roman general, was captured by the Carthaginians during the first Punic war, and was sent to Rome to offer terms of peace to his countrymen. He advised the Senate, however, to reject these terms, and, on his return to Carthage, was executed, about B.C. 260.

186 : 30. *Decii*. Publius Decius bravely challenged death in battle B.C. 340. His son, of the same name, imitated his example B.C. 295.

LVI. OF JUDICATURE

(1612. Revised and enlarged, 1625)

The student will recall Bacon's career as Lord Chancellor; the spirit of equity and loyalty with which he addressed himself to his task; his desire to serve the king without compromising the interests of justice; his close relations with Buckingham; and, finally, the circumstances which led to his fall. See the Introduction.

187: 6. **stick.** Hesitate. **pronounce.** To proclaim authoritatively.

187: 7. **show.** Pretext.

187: 9. **plausible.** Provoking undeserved applause; popular.

187: 10. **advised.** Careful; deliberate.

187: 12. **the law.** See Deut. xxvii. 17.

187: 13. **mere-stone.** Boundary stone.

187: 14. **capital.** Chief.

187: 18. **Solomon.** See Prov. xxv. 26.

187: 19. "**Fons,**" etc. "As a troubled fountain, and a corrupted spring, so is a righteous man that giveth way before the wicked." (*Revised Version.*)

187: 26. **Scripture.** See Amos v. 7.

188: 8. **useth.** Is accustomed. Compare Isa. xl. 4.

188: 11. **great.** That is, much greater than the other side possesses.

188: 12. **to make.** 'In making.'

188: 14. "**Qui fortiter,**" etc. See Prov. xxx. 33: "The wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood." (*Revised Version.*) "He that violently bloweth his nose, bringeth out blood." (*Vulgate.*)

188: 23. **Scripture.** See Psalms xi. 6. "**Pluet,**" etc. 'He shall rain snares upon them [the wicked].'

188 : 26. *Of long.* From times long past.

188 : 28. "*Judicia*," etc. 'It is a judge's duty [to consider] not only facts, but circumstances.'

189 : 1. *to remember mercy.* Compare Psalms ci. 1 ; Micah vi. 8 ; Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book V, Canto 10, Stanzas 1 and 2 ; Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, Sc. 1 : —

"The quality of mercy is not strained," etc.

189 : 7. "*well-tuned cymbal.*" Compare Psalms cl. 5.

189 : 8. *first to find.* To anticipate by his own utterance.

189 : 9. *conceit.* Wit ; perception.

189 : 11. *prevent.* In the original meaning of 'anticipate.'

189 : 14. *impertinency.* Irrelevancy.

189 : 18. *glory.* Vain-glory ; vanity. *willingness.* Eagerness.

189 : 19. *to hear.* In hearing.

189 : 23. "*represseth*," etc. See James iv. 6 ; 1 Peter v. 5.

189 : 26. *favourites.* Referring to legal advocates.

190 : 1. *obtaineth not.* Does not win.

190 : 2. *conceit.* Good opinion. All three pronouns refer to the client.

190 : 4. *civil.* Temperate ; used almost in the modern sense.

190 : 7. *chop with.* Take issue with ; pass words.

190 : 14. *ministers.* Attendants.

190 : 15. *foot-pace.* Dais.

190 : 16. *purprise.* Enclosure. The meaning is, that *all* "the place of justice" should be guarded against irreverence or contamination.

190 : 18. *Scripture.* See Matt. vii. 16.

190 : 21. *catching and polling.* Avaricious and thievish. See note on page 182, line 1. Compare also page 191, line 4.

190 : 27. *amici curiæ.* 'Friends of the court.' *parasiti curiæ.* 'Parasites of the court.'

190 : 28. puffing a court up. Probably a reference to Coke, Bacon's great rival, who more than once pressed the question of jurisdiction.

191 : 4. poller. Stripper. The word 'poll' meant originally 'to shear the hair from the head or poll.' See page 190, line 21.

191 : 9. understanding. Versed.

191 : 15. twelve tables. A short digest of Roman law, B.C. 451-450. "Salus," etc. 'The welfare of the people is the first law.' Found, however, in Cicero's *De Legibus*, III, 3, 8.

192 : 12. the Apostle. St. Paul. See 1 Tim. i. 8.

192 : 18. "Nos scimus," etc. 'We know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully.' (*Revised Version.*)

LVII. OF ANGER

(1625)

Bacon was not much given to anger — he schooled himself too prudently for that — but he seems to have had full experience of it in others, as Elizabeth, James, Buckingham, Coke. He refers here to personal anger only, excited by personal wrongs. The last paragraph expresses the worldly wisdom of a man who had had occasion for testing his own precepts. The student should read the letter of complaint sent by Bacon to Cecil, April 29, 1601, concerning "the abuse I received of Mr. Attorney-General, publicly in the Exchequer, the first day of term."

192 : 15. bravery. Vain whim or effort.

192 : 16. Stoics. See note on page 6, line 4. oracles. See Eph. iv. 28.

192 : 18. race. Course.

192 : 20. attempered. Controlled.

193 : 3. Seneca. See note on page 6, line 16. In the *De Ira*, i, 1. ruin. Literally, a falling.

193:5. **Scripture.** See Luke xxi. 19.

193:8. "**Animasque,**" etc. 'And spend their lives in [giving] a wound.' From Vergil's *Georgics*, IV, 238.

193:24. **construction.** Interpretation.

193:29. **circumstances of contempt.** Compare Malvolio's anger against Maria in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, Act II, Sc. 3: "Mistress Mary, if you prized my lady's favour at anything more than contempt, you would not give means for this uncivil rule; she shall know of it, by this hand."

194:1. **the touch.** The tainting.

194:3. **Consalvo.** Gonzalo, Hernandez de Cordova, 1453-1515. He brought about the capture of Granada, and drove the French from Naples.

194:4. "**telam,**" etc. 'Honour of a stronger web.'

194:10. **contain.** Keep.

194:13. **aculeate.** Pointed; provoking.

194:14. **proper.** Stingingly fit. **communia maledicta.** 'Common insults.'

194:28. **sever.** Keep him from imputing the injury to the motive of contempt.

LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS

(1625)

195:1. **Solomon.** See Eccl. i. 9.

195:2. **Plato.** See note on page 55, line 20. Plato held that the mind retains ideas carried over from a previous existence.

195:4. **sentence.** Opinion.

195:5. **Lethe.** A river of Hades, the waters of which produced in the person drinking them insensibility to the past.

195:11. **motion.** The movement of the heavens around the

earth. Bacon was not a Copernican, as the *Essays* frequently testify.

195:13. **the matter.** Matter, simply. a perpetual flux. Compare the philosophy of Heraclitus (see note on page 95, line 7), who held that all things are in a constant flux of becoming and passing away, that fire is the world-ground, and that all these changes tend to the establishment of a vast harmony. Compare also the modern atomic theory of the physicist.

195:14. **stay.** Standstill.

195:17. **merely.** Utterly; completely.

195:18. **Phaeton's car.** Phaeton, or Phaethon, was a son of Helios—the sun god—and Prote, and was given permission by his father to drive the chariot of the Sun for one day. The result was about to prove disastrous for heaven and earth, when Jupiter hurled a thunderbolt at Phaeton and destroyed him.

195:19. **Elias.** See 1 Kings xvii. 18.

195:20. **particular.** Partial.

195:27. **oblivion, etc.** The result is, that oblivion of the past is just as complete as if there had been no survivors.

196:6. **the Egyptian priest.** A reference to the story in Plato's *Timæus*. Solon. See note on page 102, line 25.

196:7. **Atlantis.** A mythical island referred to by Plato and others, supposed to have been situated off the coast of north-west Africa, and to have disappeared in a cataclysm.

196:16. **Machiavel.** See note on page 18, line 24.

196:18. **Gregory the Great.** Born 540, became pope 590, died 604. He is said, on doubtful authority, to have attacked and sought to destroy the monuments of antiquity.

196:22. **Sabinian.** Gregory's successor, 604.

196:24. **superior globe.** Starry heavens.

196:25. **Plato's great year.** The period mentioned by Plato in the *Timæus* as accomplished when all the stars and planets,

having completed their orbits, return to their original starting points.

196 : 27. *like*. The same as those whose lives in the last Great Year individually correspond with those of their successors. *fume*. Unfounded opinion ; whim. Compare Browning's *An Epistle Containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician*, lines 102-106 :—

“ ‘ Such cases are diurnal,’ thou wilt cry.
Not so this figment ! — not, that such a fume,
Instead of giving way to time and health,
Should eat itself into the life of life,
As saffron tingeth flesh, blood, bones and all ! ”

196 : 29. *accurate*. Nice ; exact.

197 : 6. *version*. Direction.

197 : 8. *toy*. Trifle.

197 : 9. *given over*. Despised ; ignored. *waited upon*. Considered.

197 : 12. *suit*. Succession.

197 : 21. *orbs*. Motives. A metaphor from Bacon's astronomy.

197 : 22. “ *built*,” etc. See Matt. xvi. 18.

198 : 1. *doubt*. Fear. Note several uses of the word in Hamlet's ‘ love-letter ’ to Ophelia :—

“ Doubt thou the stars are fire,
Doubt that the sun doth move ;
Doubt truth to be a liar,
But never doubt I love.”

198 : 4. *Mahomet*. See note on page 10, line 27.

198 : 7. *authority*. Civil government. Compare line 12 below.

198 : 11. *Ariana*. Arius was excommunicated as a heretic at Alexandria in 321, and his views were condemned by the Coun-

cil of Nicæa in 325. He held that the Son's nature is not identical with the Father's, but resembles it and is subordinate to it. **Arminians.** Arminius—or Jacob Harmensen, 1560-1609—was a famous Dutch theologian. His followers drew up five articles of "Remonstrance," stating their points of departure from the Calvinistic doctrines. Notably, they insisted upon the freedom of the will as opposed to predestination.

198 : 12. wits. minds.

198 : 23. compound. Settle.

199 : 6. Gallo-Græcia. Galatia was invaded B.C. 278. Rome was invaded by the Gauls about B.C. 390.

199 : 29. **Almaigne.** Germany. **Charles the Great.** Or, Charlemagne, 742 (?)—814, king of the Franks and emperor of the Romans. He greatly extended his dominions through conquest.

200 : 11. go on. Continue.

200 : 12. sustentation. Sustenance ; support.

200 : 24. certain, etc. But there is no authority for this assertion, and Bacon is probably relying upon a fable of his day.

200 : 30. fetching, etc. Having a long range ; carrying far.

201 : 4. arietations. Attacks with battering-rams. Compare the Latin *aries*.

201 : 10. pointing. Appointing.

201 : 13. battles. Forces ; troops.

201 : 25. reduced. Given order ; appropriately restricted.

201 : 26. exhaust. Exhausted.

201 : 27. turning wheels, etc. It is interesting to notice that Spenser's *Faerie Queene* concludes with a fragment—*Of Mutabilitie*—dealing with the same theme as this last full essay of Bacon's.

201 : 29. philology. Traditional accounts.

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